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THIS HISTORY OF CARDINAL MAZARIN

IS DEDICATED,

IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF

MANY KINDNESSES.

GUSTAVE MASSON.

# PREFACE.

THE history of Cardinal Mazarin is the necessary sequel to that of Cardinal Richelieu; the two works supplement and complete each other, because they unfold one definite, uniform system of policy, aiming at the same object, begun with genius and unflinching severity by the Bishop of Luçon, and carried on with astuteness and skill by his adroit and unscrupulous successor. After the death of Mazarin, Louis XIV. adopts a line of government entirely his own. To the mitigated form of despotism pursued by the two cardinals succeeds a scheme of what may be called brutal tyranny, which, for a time, is well-nigh forgotten in the dazzling lustre of military glory and of intellectual grandeur, but which ends in the terrible collapse of the *ancien régime*.

The interest, however, which is attached to the progress of France during the seventeenth century is by no means exclusively of an historical character. Bossuet (*Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*) and, in our own times, Baron de Bunsen (*God in History*) have shown that the most impressive of all sermons

can be read from the gradual unfolding of events in this our society; man's original corruption struggling with the grace of God receives there a better illustration than from the cleverest and most finished display of mere abstract reasoning, and we rise from the perusal of the work struck more forcibly than ever by the truth of the well-known saying, "*L'homme s'agite, mais Dieu le mène.*"

Further, we doubt whether there is any epoch in the whole range of modern history which brings out in stronger relief the contrast between man's fallen and unregenerated nature than the one occupied by the administration of Richelieu and Mazarin.

1. Selfishness stalks boldly forward, accompanied by all the ghastly train of "the works of the flesh." La Rochefoucauld erects it into a code of moral philosophy, and has no difficulty in recruiting for his sad scheme adepts from every class of his fellow-countrymen.

2. But if the principle of selfishness is the only one which lies at the foundation of society, it is evident that society, in its truest and noblest cause, is impossible. That man is naturally selfish no one can deny; the question is whether the evil can be eradicated, modified, or diminished. To this we find two answers given. The Jesuits come forward with their system of compromise. They tell us that we can make the best of both worlds; they are for *modi-*

*fication* and *diminution*, not *eradication*. On this principle, Madame de Sablé has her lodgings near Port Royal. She can seek the seclusion of the monastery when she feels that the world is getting the better of her; and, in like manner, she can leave as soon as she finds herself gloomy and low-spirited.

3. The Protestants and the Jansenists (let us rather say, the true Christians) are more stern, more absolute. For them there is no such thing as "facing both ways." Our evil nature must not be *modified*, but *destroyed;* we must put off the old man with his deeds, and put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him. Madame de Longueville, after her conversion, breaks off with the world altogether; Pascal and Le Maître retire to Port Royal; St. Vincent de Paul and his missionary priests, M. Bourdoise and M. Olier, the Huguenots, Daillé, Mestrezat, and Claude, devote themselves to the service of God and the welfare of their fellow-creatures.

If France survived the disasters of the *Fronde*, it was *not* thanks to the class of divines whom Louis de Montalte branded in his *Lettres Provinciales;* and we are only stating the plain truth when we say that the destruction of Port Royal and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes sounded the death-knell of the old French monarchy.

There are several biographies of Cardinal Mazarin: Aubéry's *Histoire*, 1741, 4 vols. 18mo, and Bazin's *Histoire de France sous Louis XIII. et sous le Ministère de Mazarin*, 4 vols. 8vo, have been appreciated in the preface of our volume on Richelieu. They are now completely cast into the shade by M. Chéruel's excellent and exhaustive works, *Histoire de France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV.*, 4 vols. 8vo, and *Histoire de France sous le Ministère de Mazarin*, 3 vols. 8vo. M. Chéruel has done for his hero what Viscount d'Avenel has (only as yet in part) performed for Richelieu; and, thanks to both these distinguished authors, we shall soon have a complete history of France during the government of the two great cardinal-ministers. We must not forget to mention here M. Cousin's *La jeunesse de Mazarin*, 8vo; M. Amédée Renée's *Les Nièces de Mazarin;* M. de Laborde's *Le Palais Mazarin*, 8vo; and M. de Sainte-Aulaire's *Histoire de la Fronde*, 2 vols. 8vo. This last work, published in 1827, during all the spirited contests of the Bourbon restoration, was intended to represent the *Fronde* as the earliest attempt made to introduce in France constitutional government.

GUSTAVE MASSON.

HARROW-ON-THE-HILL,
*June*, 1886.

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# MAZARIN.

*The sign (§) means a reference to the notes at the end of the volume.*

## CHAPTER I.

BEGINNING OF MAZARIN'S ADMINISTRATION — HIS CHARACTER—CABAL OF THE "IMPORTANTS."

On the morning of the 18th of May, 1643, Louis XIV. held his first *lit de justice* * in the hall where the Paris Parliament usually assembled on occasions of special importance. The display, such as we find it described, both in the official gazette and in contemporary memoirs, was of the most splendid character. The *Messieurs du Parlement* had been waiting for a long time already, when, at half-past nine, they were informed by a message that the young king and the queen-mother were at the Sainte Chapelle. A deputation, consisting of the three presidents, De Novion, De Mesmes, and De

* The *lits de justice* were solemn sittings of the Parliament, presided by the king in person. So called because the seat of the monarch was placed under a canopy like that of a four-post bedstead.

Bailleul, started immediately for the purpose of receiving them and accompanying them to the *grand chambre*,* where the Court had gathered together, every member occupying the place allotted to him, and all the dignitaries of the Crown being present. The young Louis XIV. was dressed in violet, the mourning colour worn at Court. He was carried by the Duke de Chevreuse, high chamberlain, and accompanied by the Duke de Charost, captain of one of the companies of the body-guard. Before him went the King-at-arms of France, and two heralds wearing their violet jackets studded with gold *fleurs-de-lys;* they held in their hands their sceptres and maces. The high chamberlain placed Louis XIV. on the throne, which was surmounted with an old canopy of violet velvet, embroidered with the coat-of-arms and device of Louis XII. Anne of Austria sat on the right side of the throne; Madame de Lansac, governess to the king, stood on his left. The Duke de Chevreuse was at the feet of the king, on the second step of the daïs which supported the throne. On his left stood the four captains of the body-guard, the Counts de Tresmes and de Charost, and the Marquises de Gesvres and de Chandenier. Finally, on the lowest step, and nearly touching the chancellor's arm-chair, was the Provost of Paris, holding his wand of office.

When the king and his retinue had taken their seats, the Count de Charost, captain of the guards

* The *grand chambre* was the principal court in the Paris Parliament. Only the most important cases were brought before it.

on duty, ordered silence; then the queen and Madame de Lansac kept Louis XIV. standing on the throne, that he might pronounce the usual form which authorized the opening of the *lits de justice.* "I come," said he, "to express my goodwill to the Court of Parliament; my chancellor will tell you the rest." The queen then added, that by bringing her son for the first time to this solemn meeting, she meant to prove to *Messieurs du Parlement* her firm intention of taking their advice on all occasions. On the part of the queen this was a clever move; for Richelieu had done his best to suppress the authority of the Parliament, and to destroy their prestige. The supreme court of justice might, therefore, fairly entertain the idea that at the beginning of a new reign, and especially during a regency, they would recover their political importance, and perhaps realize their fond dream of taking the place of the old States-general. "What are the States-general?" asked President de Mesmes. "They can only express prayers (*agir par prières*) and speak on their knees, as is the wont of subjects; whereas the Parliaments, being mediators between the king and his people, are accordingly of an altogether higher nature." "The Parliament," says another magistrate, "never assists at the States-general, *which are inferior to it.*" *

The general opinion was that a complete change would take place in the administration of affairs, and that all the persons visited with Richelieu's

* See the Journal of Dubuisson-Aubenay.

severity would now return to influence and to power. Speculation was rife as to who the new chancellor was to be. President de Bailleul? the Marquis de Châteauneuf? The former did not recommend himself by his talents; but he was a favourite with the Parliament, and under present circumstances the Parliament was to be humoured as much as possible. Châteauneuf had been keeper of the seals, and was in every respect superior to his competitor. Then there was the Bishop of Beauvais, Potier, whom Cardinal de Retz unceremoniously calls a "mitred ass," and whose ambition could only be satisfied by stepping into the position occupied by Mazarin, and becoming prime minister. As for Mazarin himself, he would be sent back to Rome, or employed to negotiate peace as representative of France. The surprise of all these intriguers can be easily imagined when they found out, as M. Chéruel wittily remarks, that the new regency had had its "*journée des dupes*," that the hated Italian was confirmed by the queen in the post assigned to him in the will of the late king, and that he was to preside at the council board in the absence of the princes of the blood royal. Would this decision be final? or was it rather a provisional measure, to continue only till Potier was able to take into his hand the helm of the State? At any rate, Mazarin's authority seemed more strengthened than ever, and the opportunity has now arrived for us to say a few words about his antecedents.

It is extremely difficult to arrive at some trust-

worthy account of Giulio Mazarini. If we turn to the memoirs of Cardinal de Retz, we are driven to the conclusion that he was a swindler and a coward, who had got into notoriety by thoroughly objectionable means. Unfortunately, the most violent party-spirit runs throughout all the coadjutor's amusing and brilliant account of Mazarin; his statements are often grossly inaccurate, and he has such little regard for truth that one of his contemporaries has seriously denounced his memoirs as apocryphal.* De Retz was, to all intents and purposes, "a good hater;" woe to those who did not share his views or endorse his opinions! No epithet was too bad for them, and they have gone down to posterity branded with all the violence which jealousy can inspire. La Rochefoucauld, Saint Simon, and many other memoir-writers are equally to be distrusted, and to get at the sober truth we cannot do better than turn to the portrait drawn by M. Chéruel. We give it here *in extenso*.

"Giulio Mazarini was born on the 14th of July, 1602, at Pescina, or Piscina, a small town in the Abruzzi, not far from Lake Fucino. His father, Pietro Mazarini, was a Sicilian by birth, and derived his name, according to some writers, from the village of Mazara. Hortense Buffalini, mother of the future prime minister, watched most carefully over his education, and made him begin his studies at the

* See Bauderon de Sénecé's *Remarques Historiques, suivies de quelques observations critiques sur un livre intitulé:* Mémoires de M. le Cardinal de Retz.

Roman college, then under the direction of the Jesuits. He went afterwards to the University of Alcala, in Spain, where he accompanied Hieronymo Colonna, and on his return to Rome, about the year 1622, he entered the pontifical army, where he obtained a commission as captain in an infantry regiment. It was not long before he won great reputation for skill in conducting several important negotiations, and rose into favour with Cardinals Sacchetti and Barberini. This was a first and decisive step in his diplomatic career. The war about Mantua brought him still more into notice. Thanks to his courage and presence of mind, he managed to interpose between two armies which were on the point of slaughtering each other under the walls of Casale. This action required all the skill of the most consummate politician. It attracted the attention of Richelieu, who saw the importance of winning over the young Mazarin to the interests of France. He employed him at once upon several weighty missions, chiefly in Piedmont, and obtained for him, not without much difficulty, the cardinal's hat. We have already seen that on his death-bed the prime minister recommended him to the king as his successor.

"Mazarin was perfectly acquainted with the political state of Europe, and with the interests of those who, in the various kingdoms and commonwealths, were at the head of affairs. No one has ever ventured to refuse him the rare qualities of a sagacity and presence of mind capable of ferreting out and

unravelling the most complicated intrigues. Perseverance in the carrying out of his plans, patience and foresight in waiting for favourable opportunities and suggesting them, a shrewd appreciation of character, and an indomitable ardour for work, are merits which even his bitterest enemies could not deny him. His voluminous correspondence still survives as a lasting proof of his activity. The men whom he selected and whom he trained, De Lionne, Le Tellier, Colbert, became the principal instruments of the glory of their native country during the reign of Louis XIV. Unfortunately, cunning, duplicity, and a sordid avarice were a serious drawback to Mazarin's good qualities."*

The situation of France was extremely critical at the death of Louis XIII. It was much to be feared lest all the persons exiled or imprisoned by Richelieu, now restored to liberty, might visit upon the new minister, who was known to be Richelieu's choice, the persecution they had undergone and the humiliation to which they had been subjected. Besides Marshals de Vitry and de Bassompierre, Count de Cramail, who had been for seven years a prisoner at the Bastille, recovered his liberty. The Duchess de Guise, the Duke de Vendôme, and his sons, the Dukes de Mercœur and de Beaufort, the Marquis de la Châtre were once more seen in the *salons* of the Louvre. Was there not much probability of Richelieu's family becoming the victims of their illustrious relative's unpopularity? Was it not

* *Histoire de France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV.*, pp. 4–27.

likely that all his appointments would be cancelled? The Governor of Brittany, La Meilleraye, had been grossly insulted before the whole assembly of the states of that province by Rosmadec, Bishop of Vannes; and the princes of the Vendôme family loudly claimed for one of themselves the post held by an officer who, whatever his merits might be, owed, they believed or affected to believe, his brilliant position to family influences and undue favouritism. Richelieu's niece, the Duchess d'Aiguillon, was talking of retiring to Hâvre, which her uncle had made his place of safety in case of need. The pressure thus attempted to be put upon the new Government was, however, strenuously resisted; no alteration took place in the will of Cardinal Richelieu; his relatives were secured against all annoyances; and the only measure of severity indulged in was in the case of the notorious Laffemas, who, to the universal satisfaction, had to submit to a sentence of exile.

At the same time, the disaffected, after recovering from their first feeling of surprise, and irritated at the prospect of having to endure the rule of Mazarin, determined upon organizing against him a system of uncompromising resistance. They deluded themselves with the hope that his accession to power would not be permanent, and they felt convinced that the queen, who had had so much to suffer from Richelieu, would as soon as possible show her resolution to throw off the yoke of his successor. Thus sprang up at Court the cabal of the *Importants*,

a set of young fellows utterly wanting in political knowledge, and whose self-sufficiency was only equalled by their notorious incapacity. Exaggeration of the most absurd kind was the distinguishing feature of the *Importants*. They professed a kind of worship for the ill-fated De Thou, who had generously shared the death of Cinq-Mars; Rome and the stern virtues of the old Romans, Brutus and Cato were their heroes, and they mixed up with all this intrigues of gallantry, and tastes which were anything but ennobling and austere. La Rochefoucauld, the prince of *Importants*, had Madame de Longueville in his mind's eye when he compromised his reputation during the wars of the *Fronde*, and many of his friends sincerely believed that they were following unselfishly the path of duty when they merely obeyed the suggestions of an ambitious and unprincipled woman. They accused Mazarin of aiming at following in the footsteps of Richelieu, which was perfectly true; but, sacrificing the interests of France to their own, they thought that even the Spanish alliance, and the reversing of the foreign policy of the two last reigns, was preferable to the continuance in power of the obnoxious minister. The result of this measure would have been, of course, the dissociation of France from the German Lutherans, and we see at once why the "self-sufficient party" managed to win over to their side the prelates of the Gallican Church, and all those who professed the sentiments of earnest attachment to the Roman Catholic faith.

La Rochefoucauld tells us, in his memoirs, that the only intention of the disaffected was to restore the old form of government. The expression, we see, is a very vague one, and susceptible of many interpretations. All we can say is, that a burning desire for the public weal was not the master-passion of La Rochefoucauld and his fellow-*Importants*. What has been called *La Fronde des princes* may be regarded as the last attempt to revive feudalism. It gave a great deal of trouble, and Mazarin had to shape his course warily between pretensions which to a certain degree seemed legitimate, and others so glaringly absurd and unjust that it would have been the height of folly to consider them even for a moment. La Rochefoucauld's system of ethics rests, as we know, on the principle that selfishness is the moving spring of all our actions: in the case of the *Frondeurs* belonging to the aristocracy this was decidedly the case. They cared little about this or that form of government, provided they could secure for themselves pensions, dignities, the administration of provinces, and offices of trust. It is absurd to talk, as La Rochefoucauld does, of Richelieu's having begun to destroy the old political framework of the French monarchy. When the cardinal initiated his measures of reform, the entire fabric was already falling to pieces, and all he had to do was to complete and regularize the work, which had been started even as early as the reign of Henry IV.

The character of the *Importants* has been drawn by one of themselves, and it is so true that we make

no apology for quoting it here. "I have some friends," says Alexandre de Campion, "who do not possess all the prudence desirable. They have conceived honour according to a fashion entirely their own, and they clothe virtue in such extraordinary garments that it seems to me completely disguised; so that, even supposing they can boast of all essential qualities, they put these qualities to such bad use that the applause they have won will perhaps only help on their own destruction." * The *Importants*, another critic has remarked, "have so far the sense of honour, that they are faithful to their word, devoted to their party and to their friends, and ready to face for their sakes any amount of danger; but, at the same time, they are most unscrupulous, and regardless of all extremities." In one word, the cabal we have just been attempting to describe would have unhesitatingly sacrificed their country to their own selfishness, and France, had they enjoyed the authority they coveted, must have sunk to the lowest rank amongst the European powers. Who were they, these restorers of feudalism, these would-be statesmen? Montrésor, "who had the outside of a Cato, but none of his virtues;" the Abbé de la Rivière, "whose rascalities were known in all the colleges of the University of Paris;" the Bishop of Beauvais, "the most idiot of idiots;" the Duke de Beaufort, "king of the market-place," "less capable of governing the State than his *valet de chambre*;"—in short, "half a dozen melancholy spirits who wished

* Alexandre de Campion, *Mémoires*, edit. 1857, p. 386.

to appear as if they thought deeply, who all have died mad, and, at that time, did not seem over-wise." And the reader must bear in mind that the appreciations we have just given are not those of their enemies, but of their supporters and intimate friends. Nor must we pass unnoticed the share which the ladies of the Court took in this movement: Madame de Montbazon and the Duchess de Longueville, the former renowned as much by the scandal of her life as by her rare beauty; the latter, clever and intriguing, devoted to her brother, the Duke d'Enghien, artful to such a degree that she was equally the idol of the Carmelite nuns and of the *précieuses* of the Hôtel de Rambouillet. It is positively sickening to find insincere and impudent pretensions to bring about the public good combined with love-intrigues, rapacity, and ambition of the lowest and most vulgar type. Then there was Madame de Chevreuse, Richelieu's old enemy, and for whom to conspire was as natural as to breathe. If she had made of Campion, Beaupuis, Saint-Ybar and Varicarville her intimate friends and her habitual society, it was certainly not with the view of submitting tamely to the new order of things. After having shared in the plots organized against the late minister, she determined upon doing her best to upset his successor. M. Cousin calls Madame de Chevreuse the real chief of the *Importants;* she was, at any rate, one of the most active leaders in the movement. As soon as she returned to Court, she studied carefully Mazarin's character, its strong and its weak side.

She endeavoured to find out whether it would be safe to attack him openly; and, seeing that such a course was impossible, she did all she could to ruin him in the mind of the queen. The whole of France, she would say, hated Richelieu's policy, and was groaning under its disastrous consequences. There was not one family of distinction which had not to mourn over the death of one of its members, ignominiously beheaded on the slightest charge. Marillac, Montmorency, De Thou, Bouteville, Beuvron, and many others, had perished, victims of petty jealousy and mean vindictiveness; the Church was oppressed and deprived of all its former connection with the Holy See, under the pretence that it should not become Ultramontanist in its political views and Jesuitical in its doctrine; Jansenism had been sentenced to imprisonment in the person of Saint-Cyran; as for the Parliaments, they had been deprived of their political authority, and reduced to be mere courts of law. The queen herself, could she have forgotten the numerous humiliations she had had to endure from Richelieu, and the fate which he most probably reserved for her? Thus beset, and appealed to on the very ground of the insults she was made to put up with, Anne of Austria granted at once all that was required of her, and showed an anxiety to please which caused her to be laughed at *in petto* by those to whom she was the kindest and the most affable. "Our queen is so good!" was an expression which passed as a proverb at that time, and under favour of which the most barefaced ex-

penditure, the most lavish prodigality, became a matter of everyday notoriety. Anne of Austria was, says M. Cousin, no ordinary person. Handsome, and at the same time both proud and vain, she was fond of being surrounded by crowds of admirers, and having by her coquetry, which was always of the most innocent description, come to be looked upon as incapable of serious thought and below notice, she was deprived of all influence, and kept under a state of tutelage by her husband and by Richelieu. She then resumed a position of inferiority which she might be said to have courted. She carried on a kind of secret but constant antagonism against the cardinal, and finally engaged in certain enterprises which, as we have seen, turned out very unfortunately. It was natural enough that the hatred which she bore to Richelieu should be transferred to Richelieu's successor, but this resentment did not last long. Her great ambition had always been to obtain the regency at the death of Louis XIII., and although her power as such was extremely limited, in consequence of the appointment of a council whose decisions she was compelled always to ratify, still she had managed to obtain the coveted prize; and, as it was through Mazarin's influence, she felt a sentiment of gratitude for him who had interfered on her behalf. We thus see the queen, on the one hand, acting on the principle, *Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco*, welcoming her exiled and disgraced friends, whose vicissitudes she had shared during the reign of Richelieu; and, on the other,

through nonchalance, natural indolence, and a feeling perhaps stronger than gratitude, only too glad to leave the management of affairs and the administration of the kingdom to the Bishop of Luçon's own pupil and successor. The hatred, so general and so intense, expressed against Richelieu throughout the length and breadth of France is very nobly commented on by Mazarin in the following letter, which he wrote to Marshal de Brézé:—

"Although I could not possibly be more pained than in hearing M. de Cardinal's reputation torn to pieces, yet I consider that we had better allow, without being disturbed, free course to that intemperance of mind with which many Frenchmen are afflicted. Time will avenge that great man of all these insults, and those who blame him to-day will find out hereafter, perhaps, how much his guidance would have been necessary to complete the happiness of the realm—happiness of which he has laid the foundation. Let us, then, suffer the malice of ignorant and prejudiced minds to evaporate freely, since opposition would only serve to irritate it; and let us feel comfort in the estimation which is formed of his virtues by strangers, who appreciate it dispassionately and intelligently."

Mazarin, when he first entered upon the duties of his office, affected a gentleness and a courtesy which stood in amusing contrast with the domineering character of his predecessor. "One might see," said De Retz, "on the steps of the throne from which the stern and dreaded Richelieu had struck men

with his thunderbolts rather than governed them—one might see a prime minister gentle, benign, claiming nothing on his own behalf, and disconsolate at the thought that his dignity did not allow him to humble himself before every one as much as he would have wished." This ironical remark of the coadjutor is amusing, but it is perfectly justified by the facts. Every page of Mazarin's correspondence during the commencement of his administration is full of protestations of disinterestedness and abnegation. He would fain make you believe that the acme of his wishes would be to leave France, and either to go and make himself useful in some distant embassy, or, better still, to enjoy at Rome a well-earned repose. All this is downright hypocrisy, and De Retz saw perfectly well through it. Mazarin was ambitious, and although he did not go straight to the goal he had in view with Richelieu's undisguised energy, he reached it quite as surely by devious and obscure paths.

It was not long before he made his enemies feel that it was no use attempting to trifle with him. The first person visited with his anger was that "colossus," the Duchess de Montbazon, whose impertinence had no bounds, and who insulted the queen in the garden of the Tuileries. She was disgraced, and ordered to retire to Rochefort (August 22, 1643). This bold measure so infuriated the Duke de Beaufort that he resolved upon carrying out without delay the plot he had formed with a few friends as unscrupulous as himself, to get rid of the

cardinal. Lié, captain of Beaufort's guards, the two brothers, Alexander and Henry de Campion, the Count de Beaupuis, and several others, had promised to take a decided share in the conspiracy. Mazarin's most indifferent actions were closely watched, and nothing was wanted but a fit opportunity to murder the unpopular statesman. He, on his side, knew perfectly well the dangers of his situation. "Your Eminence," says he, in a letter to Cardinal Bichi, "will no doubt learn from several quarters my position at the French Court; therefore I shall content myself by telling you that I receive daily the greatest marks of kindness from both the queen and the Duke d'Orléans. But, at the same time, those who are jealous of the post which I occupy, are becoming more and more irritated, and neglect nothing to bring about my ruin."

Henry de Campion, one of Beaufort's devoted accomplices, has given in his memoirs a very interesting account of all this episode, and we shall quote a few of the most striking passages. The memoirs themselves are perfectly authentic, and deserve all confidence.

Let us, in the first place, hear the formation and organization of the plot.

"It was resolved, after due discussion, that Lié and Brillet, who were acquainted with our design, and Ganseville, De la Londe, d'Héricourt, De Prémont, De Giné, and De la Rochette-Freselière, all retainers of the House of Vendôme, who had not been let into the secret, should meet every morning at

certain public-houses (*cabarets*) in the vicinity of the cardinal's residence, which was at the Hôtel de Clèves, near the Louvre; there they would wait till they received from me orders as to what they had to do. Beaupuis and I would be permanently with the prince, and those who knew all about the plot would ascertain exactly at what time the cardinal went out, with the view of informing M. de Beaufort. Finally, to the number of the conspirators would be added D'Avancourt and De Brassi, natives of Picardy, men of great determination, and Lié's intimate friends. It was agreed that I should tell them all, on the duke's behalf, that the Princess de Condé and Madame de Montbazon having had a bitter quarrel together (which was perfectly true), and the former stating her intention of insulting the other, the duke wished to keep in readiness a number of gentlemen with horses and pistols, in a place where he could command their services at a stated time, in order to oppose that design. The prince further settled with Beaupuis, my brother, and myself, that when the moment came to carry out the plot, he would direct Ganseville and Brillet to stop the cardinal's coachman; then Héricourt and Avancourt would go to one of the carriage doors and kill Mazarin. In the mean time, he—the duke—would be on horseback in the street, with Beaupuis, myself, and all the other persons named above, to stop those who might attempt to offer resistance; and as soon as the deed was done, we should all leave Paris and retire to places of safety."

This abominable plot against the minister would have probably succeeded but for the scruples of some of the conspirators. Henry de Campion had declared that nothing could induce him to lay violent hands upon the cardinal; nor would he even stand by and witness the crime, unless the Duke de Beaufort was present likewise. Lié and Brillet were equally far from disposed to abet Beaufort's designs, and to play the part of cutthroats. Two or more attempts had already been made without any success, when one day news reached the *Importants* that the cardinal and the Duke d'Orléans purposed going to dine at Maisons. Now, forsooth, the time at last had come for getting rid of the tyrant.

"I obtained from the prince"—we still quote Campion—"that if the minister was in the same carriage as his Royal Highness, the deed would not take place. 'If he is alone,' answered Beaufort, 'he must die.' Early in the morning, the duke got horses in readiness, and kept with Beaupuis in the precincts of the convent of the Capuchin friars, near the Hôtel de Vendôme, placing a servant in the street, who was to warn him when the cardinal passed by. He then ordered me to be at my post in the Rue Saint Honoré, with those whom I used to assemble at the Angel Inn. Should the cardinal go without the Duke d'Orléans, I was to jump into the saddle with all these gentlemen, and meet him at the convent of the Capucins, where he would be as soon as I. Never, I must confess, did I feel so much sorrow as on that day, seeing how impossible

it was for me to save the minister. . . . The state of anxiety in which I was can easily be imagined, till, seeing Mazarin pass by in the carriage of the Duke d'Orléans, I was moved with unutterable joy, and went forthwith to tell the Duke de Beaufort that since his plan met with so many obstacles, it was a sure sign that God did not approve of it."

Another attempt was made by Beaufort; it was the last. Rumours of a conspiracy soon spread abroad, and it was resolved by Mazarin and the queen that the duke should be arrested. His friends had cautioned him on the subject, and recommended him to keep out of the way. He scorned their advice, and answered, as the Duke de Guise had done in days of yore, "They would not dare to lay hands on me!" When the news of the attempted murder of the cardinal reached the queen, she said to Madame de Motteville, who was on duty as lady-in-waiting, "You shall see, before twice twenty-four hours are over, how I can take revenge for the tricks which these wicked friends play upon me." "Never," says Madame de Motteville, in her memoirs, "shall I forget these few words. I saw immediately, by the fire which flashed from the eyes of the queen, and by the circumstances which took place the next day and on the very same evening, what a sovereign lady is when she is angry, and when she can do what she will." Mazarin knew perfectly well that unless he was supported by Anne of Austria, he could not long stand against the intrigues of his enemies. He had, therefore, and, we

must say, without much difficulty, won her cordial support—nay, more, her undisguised affection, and he felt sure that everything he might deem necessary for the safety of the realm would receive her sanction. "The plots which are so persistently made against me will not cease so long as people see near your Majesty a powerful party bent upon my ruin, and capable of winning over the mind of the queen, in case some disgrace should befall me."

"The Duke de Beaufort, who had been hunting, came to the Louvre, and presented himself before her Majesty. She received him with the greatest affability, and asked him all sorts of questions about his sport, as if," says Madame de Motteville, "she had had no other thought in her mind. The cardinal entering thereupon, she rose from her seat, and desired him to follow her. It seemed as if she would hold a council in her room. She went there accompanied only by her ministers; and, at the same time, the Duke de Beaufort, wishing to leave, was met by Guitaut, captain of the guards, who arrested him, and ordered him to follow him in the name of the king and of the queen. The duke, without manifesting any astonishment, answered, 'Yes, I will; but this seems to me rather strange.' Then, running towards Mesdames de Chevreuse and de Hautefort, who were chatting together, he said to them, 'You see, ladies, that the queen has ordered me to be arrested.' . . . The next day, while her Majesty's hair was being dressed, she did us the honour to tell us, two of her ladies-in-waiting and

myself, that two or three days before, having gone on an excursion to Vincennes, where M. de Chavigny had treated her to a sumptuous collation, she had found the Duke de Beaufort very merry. It then suddenly came into her mind to pity him, saying in herself, 'Alas! that poor fellow will perhaps be here in three days, but he won't laugh then.'" The arrest of Beaufort had taken place on the 2nd of September. He spent the night at the Louvre, and was conveyed on the next day to the Castle of Vincennes with a display evidently intended to strike awe into the people, and to show that the queen-regent meant to be absolute mistress in France. Between six and seven o'clock in the morning a court carriage went to Vincennes, bearing the prisoner under the protection of Guitaut. Two companies of Swiss guards, with drums beating and colours flying, opened the march; then came the musketeers of the king's household; the carriage was completely surrounded by troops; the light cavalry and two companies of the French guards brought up the rear. This blow, vigorously struck, produced the greatest effect. "The whole populace," Mazarin writes, "were overjoyed. They exclaimed, 'Here is he who wanted to trouble our repose.'" Nor must we suppose that this was merely an illusion or an overweening conceit on the part of Mazarin. Independent witnesses are there to confirm this statement—Olivier d'Ormesson, for instance; Grotius, who was then ambassador for the Court of Sweden; Lamboi, one of the generals in the Spanish pay;

and Giustiniani, the Venetian ambassador. The cabal of the *Importants* virtually ceased to exist, and although they made fresh efforts to create disturbances both in Paris and in the provinces, the imprisonment of their leader rendered them comparatively powerless.* The Marquis de Châteauneuf, Governor of Touraine, received strict orders to repair at once to his post, and not to leave it; Madame de Chevreuse had to quit the Louvre; La Châtre, colonel-general of the Swiss guards, was superseded by Bassompierre; the Vendôme family were exiled to the Château of Anet; the Bishop of Beauvais, and all the prelates then at Court, were commanded to return to their dioceses; the Duke de Beaufort's tools—the Campions, Beaupuis, Brillet, Lié—succeeded in sheltering themselves from the pursuits of which they would infallibly have been the victims; Madame de Hautefort, Madame de Senecey, and a host of inferior personages, had to submit to the same disgrace; finally, the Duke de Vendôme, who was certainly the most dangerous of the whole party, found himself obliged to go abroad. He retired to Italy, where he met with his son's two friends, Beaupuis and Campion. It is seldom that even the most serious event does not end in France with a song or a *vaudeville*. The following *rondeau*, imitated from the one we have quoted in our volume on Richelieu, describes amusingly but faithfully the state of

* On all this conspiracy *cf.* Campion's *Mémoires*, and V. Cousin, *Madame de Chevreuse*, p. 198.

public opinion after the *coup d'état* of September 3, 1643:—

"Il n'est pas mort; il n'a que changé d'âge,
Ce Cardinal, dont chacun en enrage;
Mais sa maison en a grand passe-tems;
Maints chevaliers n'en sont pas trop contens,
Ains l'ont voulu mettre en piteux équipage.
Sous sa faveur renaît son parentage
Par le même art qu'il mettoit en usage,
Et, par ma foi, c'est encore leur tems;
Il n'est pas mort.

"Or nous taisons de peur d'entrer en cage·
Il est en cour, l'éminent personnage,
Et pour durer encor plus de vingt ans.
Demandez-leur, à tous ces Importans;
Ils vous diront d'un moult piteux langage:
Il n'est pas mort."

It must be acknowledged that, notwithstanding the provocations he had received, the prime minister behaved rather leniently; but his authority had been established, and for him that was sufficient. Marshal de la Meilleraye in vain tried to persuade him to have a body-guard, as his predecessor had done. He refused; but, at the same time, he selected a number of soldiers belonging to his own regiment whom he could thoroughly trust, and several of whom had been officers in Richelieu's private guard. They were to follow him wherever he went, and they carried weapons concealed under their clothes.

No precaution was neglected by the astute Mazarin. He had at Court devoted friends on whom he could implicitly rely, and whose services

he handsomely rewarded. Antoine, Marshal de Gramont; Roger du Plessis, Marquis de Liancourt; François-Christophe de Lévi-Ventadour, Count de Brion; René-Potier, Count de Tresmes, were all created dukes; and their personal influence, their numerous connections, and their undoubted merit proved of the highest value to Mazarin. Abroad, Cardinal Bichi kept him *au courant* of all that was going on, and frequently gave him excellent advice. A very important question was how to deal with the Duke d'Orléans on the one side, and the Condés on the other. Cardinal Bichi wanted Mazarin to bring the two families to some kind of understanding with one another, and govern France by the help of their combined efforts. This suggestion could not be carried out, owing to the impudent pretensions of the two rivals. We have already had occasion to allude to that extraordinary selfishness which was the character of the whole *Fronde* movement; it really was the only motive-power during that unfortunate epoch. "You want my assistance," said Condé, "but on what terms? Let me have the government of Languedoc for myself; that of Burgundy for my eldest son, the Duke d'Enghien; and, with my son-in-law, the Duke de Longueville, as Governor of Normandy, we shall be able to hold our own against any person infatuated enough to oppose us. Then I claim as my right the estates of Chantilly and Dammartin, and, in fact, the whole of the domains of my brother-in-law, Henry de Montmorency." The Duke d'Orléans would be satisfied

with nothing short of the province of Champagne, "the three bishoprics" (Metz, Toul, and Verdun), and the place of Sédan. Mazarin discovered that, after all, the best plan was to foment a spirit of division between the two families, and to play them off the one against the other: *divide et impera.*

The state of the provinces was quite as unsatisfactory as that of Paris itself. Political agitation had penetrated very nearly from one end of France to the other, and gained fresh fuel from the universal misery then prevailing. The necessity of paying the expenses of a long and terrible war had led to a great increase in the taxation; all financial resources were exhausted; and the *traitants*, or farmers of the taxes, with the view of getting back the advances they had made to the Government, ground down the people in the most merciless manner. The memoirs of the time are full of instances of extreme distress; and Mazarin himself tells us of a man named Métayer, who, with an income of under one hundred livres, was rated at two hundred livres, and compelled, besides, to take twenty-five *boisseaux* (bushels) of salt at ten livres a bushel.

The peasants of Rouergue, like the *va-nu-pieds* of Richelieu's time, rose in the autumn of 1643, and offered a desperate resistance to the troops, under the orders of M. de Langeron, who were sent to crush them. Mazarin, deeply affected by a state of things which he could not help, recommended gentleness whilst insisting upon submission; but the burdens had become perfectly intolerable, and

deeds of violence took place, as might be expected. The collectors of the taxes were murdered, their offices and private dwellings burnt down, their account-books destroyed. No sooner had the revolutionary movement been suppressed in Rouergue, than it broke out in Lower Poitou, Saintonge, and Angoumois, with this particular circumstance, that it was not limited to the peasantry and lower classes of the population. The nobility took advantage of the state of public feeling to renew their old endeavours for independence, and it was even feared lest the Huguenots might also be led to join in the rebellion. By a strange coincidence, all these disturbances corresponded chronologically to the parliamentary struggle in England, and the courtiers supposed at the Louvre that the disaffected across the Channel would certainly assist the French Protestants. It was necessary, then, that the movement in Poitou and Saintonge should be put down with the utmost possible speed. The governor of the former province had already marched towards Lusignan, and prevented the meeting of a projected assembly. Mazarin despatched, in addition, a small army commanded by the Marquis d'Aumont; and the orders of the prime minister were so promptly and so satisfactorily carried out, that the measures of severity which had been contemplated in the first instance were given up as quite uncalled for. The *gentilshommes* placed under arrest were set at liberty; a general amnesty granted; and, whilst part of the troops were summoned back to their quarters, those

remaining received instructions to behave decently and to observe the strictest discipline, so as to spare the population as much as possible, and afford no occasion for further outbreaks.

We must notice that Mazarin's character appears very naïvely in the letter which he wrote to the *intendant* of Languedoc after the popular rising had been suppressed:

"I must tell you that in all dealings with the culprits care should especially be taken to spare property, so that all taxes be paid to the king; there must be neither any arrears nor any necessity for assessing any other sources of income which are already sufficiently burdened. This consideration, which must come before all others, points out to you the obligation for the troops to live with the greatest order possible, and not to be burdensome to the population, lest these find themselves unable to pay to the king what is his due. For you must not doubt that three days' billeting, combined with the licentiousness usual to soldiers, are more ruinous than the taxes and cost of living for a whole year. The farmers of the revenue (*partisans*), too, are interested in such measures, because they cannot otherwise recover what has been granted to them. In one word, the queen's absolute intention is that every possible facility may be given to the people to pay the subventions which the inevitable necessity of public affairs compels her Majesty to require from them." *

* *Lettres de Mazarin*, i. p. 413.

M. Chéruel, who reproduces this letter,* remarks that the ideas it contains are to be found in many other despatches of the cardinal's, proving that his humanity was confined to sparing the people merely because they were a source of production and of wealth to the Crown. "Shear the flock, but do not flay it alive"—such is the principle which directed, two hundred years ago, the relations between the king and the nation, and we need only turn to the writings of La Fontaine, La Bruyère, and Madame de Sévigné, to see this truth illustrated in every possible form.

We have thus given, as completely as we could, a summary of Mazarin's home policy during the first twelve months of his administration; it is time now that we should see what France was doing abroad, and what part she was playing in the closing events of the Thirty Years War.

* *Minorité de Louis XIV.*, i. p. 208.

## CHAPTER II.

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS—LENS, ROCROY, AND NORDLINGEN —TREATY OF MÜNSTER.

THE state of European affairs was far from promising when Mazarin became minister. It was absolutely necessary that, abroad as well as at home, Richelieu's policy should be strictly adhered to, and at any cost the abasement of the House of Austria must be completed. The Swedes, commanded by Torstenson, were threatening the Imperialists in Germany; they required assistance of the most substantial kind; the princes and free cities of the empire had to be encouraged in their resistance; succours were needed by Marshal Guébriant, who had penetrated into Thuringia; the House of Savoy must be opposed to Spain in Italy, and the neutrality of Genoa and Venice secured; the Dukes of Parma, Tuscany, Modena, and Mantua found themselves drawn into the French alliance; the Spanish Netherlands were invaded with the help of the Dutch army; Spain attacked on the north-east through Catalonia, and on the west by Portugal, whilst the fleet of Admiral

de Brézé kept a strict watch along the coast. All this required both patience, determination, and leaders capable of coping with the German veterans trained in all the hardships of the Thirty Years War.

The most vulnerable part on the French frontier was the north. It was known that Don Francisco de Mello had formed the plan of invading Champagne, and accordingly the army assembled to oppose him was placed under the command of the Duke d'Enghien, assisted by François du Hallier, Marshal de l'Hôpital. Whilst this force took up its quarters in the province of Picardy, another body of troops, commanded by the Marquis de Gesvres, was appointed to protect Champagne; and, finally, with the view of compelling the Spaniards to divide their army, La Meilleraye, grand master of the artillery, prepared to invade Franche Comté.

Up to that time Sublet de Noyers had been at the head of the war department. He fell under suspicion for some trifling act of maladministration, and was replaced by Michel le Tellier, who immediately carried on with the utmost vigour and diligence all the preparations for a decisive campaign. We have just said that the northern provinces were specially exposed to the attacks of the enemy. Rocroy was besieged by the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, Don Francisco de Mello, and if it should happen to fall, there was nothing to hinder the enemy from marching towards Paris. The Duke d'Enghien accordingly resolved upon defending

Rocroy. He had with him three of the ablest generals of the day, La Ferté-Senneterre, Sirot, and Gassion. He managed to introduce into the city a small detachment under the orders of Saint-Martin, and, marching forwards himself with the rest of the army, he had reached Joigny, when he received intelligence of the death of Louis XIII. The destiny of Rocroy was not doubtful. Prolonged resistance on the part of the besieged was quite impossible, and it is not too much to say that the safety of the kingdom depended on the skill and courage of a young prince a little more than twenty-two years old. The famous battle of Rocroy has often been described, both by contemporary writers, some of whom were present during the action (La Moussaie and Sirot), and by modern historians (M. V. Cousin, M. Henri Martin, Captain Jung, and M. Monlezun). Pierre Lenet, in his memoirs, gives an account drawn up immediately after the battle; and the *Gazette de France* published, on the 27th of May, an official narrative. We cannot, within the short compass of a chapter, pretend to describe all the incidents of the campaign; the utmost we can attempt to do is to relate some of the incidents of the battle of Rocroy, and in doing so we shall consult, strange as it may seem, Mademoiselle de Scudéry's once-famous romance, *Le Grand Cyrus*. It will be for our readers an opportunity of becoming acquainted with a work which, two hundred years ago, created as much sensation as the Waverley novels did on their first appearance.

Rocroy is situated at the entrance of the forest of Ardennes, and was surrounded two hundred years ago by woods and marshes, which are now to a great extent cleared and cultivated. A small plain separated it from the woods, and about the middle of that plain was an open space lying between two hillocks sloping gently. Don Francisco de Mello had there assembled his army, and he could not be reached except through defiles extending across the various natural obstacles we have already alluded to. The shortest of these passages is about three kilometres long. It was taken for granted that the Spaniards would defend the access to these obstacles against the French, and, before moving, the Duke d'Enghien called a council of war. Marshal de L'Hôpital, Espenan, La Ferté-Senneterre, Gassion, La Vallière, Sirot, and De la Barre were present.

The French commander had resolved to give battle to the Spaniards. "Having held a council of war, where all the principal officers of his army were summoned, Cyrus told them what Mazare (Gassion) had done (reinforcements introduced into Rocroy), and gave them all the information he had gathered from other quarters, telling them, afterwards, in the strongest terms, that he had absolutely determined upon relieving the fortress of the Sauromates (Rocroy). With that view, it was quite necessary to move at once towards the defile through which they must go to meet the enemy; 'for,' said he, 'supposing the Massagetes (the Spaniards) wish to defend that defile, they will be obliged to thin (*dégarnir*) their

outposts, and therefore to allow us a free passage towards the relief of the fort. If they should let us pass without fighting, we shall easily get to the plain, and offer them battle on advantageous terms. Besides,' added he, to bring them over to his sentiments, 'supposing we should not find it opportune to fight them, it would be still necessary to do what I am saying, because we might even then gain sundry important positions, fortify them, and compel the enemies to abandon their own, thus allowing us the means of relieving the fort.' After this, Cyrus, in order to prevail still more upon the officers to do what he wished, mentioned the news he had just received of the death of Cyaxares (Louis XIII.), adding that such sad intelligence was a further reason obliging them to hasten and obtain the victory: 'for,' said he, with admirable gracefulness, 'we must tell the news to our soldiers only on the battle-field, after we have triumphed; and I am thoroughly determined to expose myself to death rather than incur the disgrace of allowing the fortress of the Sauromates to be taken in the sight of my army.' . . . Cyrus having ceased speaking, all those present adopted his opinion, and even Cresus (Marshal de l'Hôpital) gave his adhesion." *

There is no doubt that the situation was one of great risk, and the enemies which the French had to cope with were quite worthy of testing to the uttermost the courage and the skill of such a warrior as the Duke d'Enghien. The commander-in-chief

* *Le Grand Cyrus*, vol. ix. book ii.

of the Spanish forces, Don Francisco de Mello (Thomiris in *Le Grand Cyrus*), had under his orders about twenty-eight thousand men, including eight thousand cavalry, commanded by the Duke d'Albuquerque (Octomasade in *Le Grand Cyrus*); Count de Fuentès (Fontaine in French; Terez in *Le Grand Cyrus*) was brigadier-general (*mestre-de-camp général*). He had earned much reputation during the wars in the Netherlands; but, by reason of his infirmities, he had to be carried about in a kind of chair at the head of his troops. Under him served the most distinguished Spanish officers and the *élite* of the Spanish infantry; amongst others the regiments of Avila, Vilandio, Villalva, Albuquerque, Garcies, and Castelvi. "Since the days of the great captain (Gonzalvo of Cordova) those famous troops had been the terror and admiration of the world. On their serried ranks the stormiest wave of battle had hitherto broken in vain. No foeman had ever seen their backs. They had driven the Arabs from the mosques of Cordova; they had shivered the idols in the temples of the Incas; they had crushed the great Lutheran league at Muhlberg; they had tamed the pride of Islam on the banks of the Danube. Often before had the flower of French chivalry recoiled from their iron columns like raging surf from a rugged cliff. Whenever hitherto the battle had wavered, the shock of the Spanish infantry regiments, united as one man, had turned the tide. For a century and a half they had been invincible, and in truth it needed extraordinary

genius or extraordinary incapacity to outweigh so much disciplined order." * The battle took place on the 19th of May, 1643. Condé, at the head of his right wing, routed the cavalry which was opposed to him; and, hearing that his left had been defeated by Mello, he boldly passed behind the Spanish lines, to attack in the rear the victorious right wing of the Spaniards. He soon dispersed them. "Gassion charged on one side, Sirot on the other, in such a manner that the enemies, being surprised, thinking that they had nothing to do but to plunder, and that they were certain of victory, were easily defeated. From victorious they became vanquished in one moment, for they never could contrive to rally their forces, and the whole of that wing was either killed or taken prisoner. La Ferté-Senneterre, who had been captured, was rescued, the artillery recovered, and the entire army thoroughly defeated." †

"There remained nothing but a large body of infantry, which, being composed entirely of Massagetes, had taken up its position near the machines of the army, and seemed in so determined an attitude that evidently they had resolved to defend their life and their liberty to the last drop of their blood. The brave Terez (Count de Fuentès) commanded that corps. . . . Seeing Cyrus (Duke d'Enghien) come up to attack him, with all the pride of a warrior who has never yet been defeated, he did not

* FitzPatrick, *The Great Condé and the Period of the Fronde*, i. pp. 50, 51.

† Montglat, *Mémoires*.

move, but ordered his army not to draw their bows till the enemy was within reach. Accordingly Cyrus kept marching forwards without meeting any resistance on the part of the Massagetes. But when he was at the distance fixed by Terez, that valiant captain ordered his battalions to open right and left, and made so terrible a discharge from all the machines of the army of Thomiris (Don Francisco de Mello) and of the arrows of his own infantry that the air was darkened by them, and that the troops of Cyrus were not only covered with them, but terror-stricken, and if the extreme valour of that great prince had not quieted his soldiers, those who had triumphed everywhere else would here have been defeated; but as, fortunately, Terez had no cavalry which might drive off the enemy and take advantage of their disorder, they did not retreat very far, and Cyrus knew both how to reassure them and also bring them back to the charge. Terez, meanwhile, had had time once more to get his machines in order, and this second attack had the same result as the first. Up to three times did the conqueror of Asia assail these proud enemies without being able to break through their ranks, although he did wonders, whilst the princes who followed him distinguished themselves by a thousand acts of courage. Such obstinate valour on the part of these brave Massagetes was, however, useless; for Cyrus, having brought up his reserve, and a few other troops arriving in the mean time, he caused that brave infantry to be surrounded on all sides. These valiant

Massagetes having therefore nothing else to do but to surrender, which they could do with glory, they made the usual signs to show that they asked for quarter. The illustrious Cyrus, anxious to save the life of so many brave men, advanced to give them his *parole*, and to receive theirs." * Count de Fuentès was killed, and Condé received three musket-shots.

M. FitzPatrick, whom we have already quoted, thus comments on the battle of Rocroy :—

"Such was the victory of Rocroy, one of the most glorious and decisive in history. It was the death-blow of the great Spanish monarchy. The renowned *tercios* (infantry regiments), so long its prop and pride, were annihilated. A Spanish officer, on being asked after the battle what had been their strength in the morning, answered with a mournful pride, 'You have only to count the dead and the prisoners.' Spain henceforth was unable to maintain the leading position which for more than a century she had held. From the battle of Rocroy dates that decided superiority of the French which has more than once menaced the independence of Europe." †

La Moussaie, d'Enghien's intimate friend, who acted as his aide-de-camp during the battle, had the honour of bringing to Paris the glorious news of the victory. The enthusiasm with which he was received may be easily imagined. There was an opportunity for all the muses of the Hôtel de Ram-

* *Le Grand Cyrus*, vol. ix. book ii.

† FitzPatrick, *The Great Condé*, i. 57.

bouillet to tune up their lyres. They did so *con molto brio*, and a perfect deluge of sonnets, odes, and madrigals celebrated the auspicious event.(§) The Spanish colours captured at Rocroy were exhibited for several days at the Hôtel de Condé, before being carried to the metropolitan church of Notre Dame; the people crowded to see them. The spirit of patriotism, thoroughly excited, was further enhanced when the Parisians heard that the Duke d'Enghien's first act, after the battle was won, was to thank God publicly at the head of his army, and that he then had provided with equal solicitude for the comforts of the sick and wounded, whether French or Spaniards, making the former feel how proud their country was of them, and showing the latter with the greatest delicacy that true courage deserved to be honoured and appreciated under whatever standard it had had the opportunity of exhibiting itself. He had asked for his faithful lieutenants the rewards to which they were so justly entitled, reserving for himself only the glory of an action which certainly saved France, and has never been surpassed even by the most brilliant feats of arms of Napoleon. After a few days given to the duties of religion and of humanity, he rushed in pursuit of the enemy, and appeared under the walls of Thionville on the 16th of June.*

We must not leave the Rocroy incident without briefly noticing the disparaging way in which

* Cousin, *La Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville*, pp. 235, 236, of the first edition.

certain writers have attempted to speak of the Duke d'Enghien. M. Michelet, and other historians after him, in their republican and systematic hostility to the royal family of France, assert that the success of the battle was entirely due to the skill of Gassion and of Sirot, and that the Duke d'Enghien has obtained, at the expense of these two generals, a reputation to which he is not entitled. We may notice, by way of answer, in the first place, that the young prince himself acknowledged openly and without the slightest reserve the signal service rendered by his two able lieutenants.* But, further, it was undoubtedly he who, despite the objections raised by some of the officers, conceived and carried out the heroic idea of giving battle; it was he who brought about the success by a sudden and bold attack; it was he, finally, who three times led the French squadrons against the renowned infantry commanded by Count de Fuentès. Accusations backed only by partiality and political animosity deserve to be unnoticed, but when they pass current under the sanction of so popular an historian as M. Michelet, it is our duty to caution the reader against them.

The late Earl Stanhope has also taken the defence of the Duke d'Enghien in a passage which it is worth quoting here. "In our days, a writer who has attained some reputation by dint of libels—I mean Paul Louis Courier—has set himself against the victor of Rocroy, and at the same time against

* See Masson's *Richelieu*, p. 33.

all other military reputations. According to him—'I am ready to believe, since every one says it, that there is an art in war, but you must acknowledge that it is the only one which requires no apprenticeship. It is the only art one knows without ever having learnt it. In all others, study and time are requisite; one begins by being a scholar: but, in this, one is at once a master, and if one has the least talent for it, one accomplishes one's *chef d'œuvre* at the same time with one's *coup d'essai*. . . . A young prince of eighteen posts down from the court, gives a battle, gains it, and then he is a great captain for the rest of his life, and the greatest captain of the world.'* . . . But without pausing to observe that Enghien was nearly twenty-two, that he had studied the art of war with the greatest zeal, and that he had already served in three campaigns, may we not allow something to the flash of heroic genius? Shall we not rather say, with the Cardinal de Retz, although the enemy of Condé, 'Monsieur le Prince was born a captain, which never happened but to him, Cæsar, and Spinola. He has equalled the first; he has surpassed the second.'† Does not a simple narrative of the battle of Rocroy suffice to show that it was gained by skilful direction, and not by happy accident?"‡

We have left the Duke d'Enghien before

* Conversation at the Countess of Albany's.

† *Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 287, edit. of 1819.

‡ *Life of Louis, Prince de Condé, surnamed the Great*, edit. of 1852, p. 23.

Thionville. The city capitulated on the 4th of August. He then directed all his efforts against Austria and its German allies. The Weimarian army was at that time in a state which augured very badly for the success of the campaign. The chiefs appointed to command it did not act cheerfully together; the simplest rules of discipline were violated; and the troops were, besides, in the greatest distress, owing to the inclemency of the weather. Marshal Guébriant, who had the command of these troops, deserved much praise for having kept together an army thus disorganized. Mazarin, duly informed of everything that was going on, felt the necessity there was of not compromising the results of the war by negligence and want of harmony; he therefore pressed upon Rantzau, who led the forces sent to strengthen Marshal Guébriant's army, the absolute duty of establishing the most thorough discipline amongst the Weimarian soldiers, and ordered him to act on that subject in concord with Guébriant. On the 22nd of October, the Duke d'Enghien reviewed at Dachstein (a small town of Lower Alsace, between Strasburg and Saverne) the combined armies, amounting to about seventeen thousand men. Rantzau was accompanied by a number of distinguished officers, amongst others Baron de Sirot, of Rocroy celebrity; the Marquis, afterwards Duke de Montausier; Maugiron; Roqueservières; and Noirmoutiers. Guébriant laid siege before Rothweil, and took it at the end of thirteen days, but only at the cost of his life. On the 17th of November, he was

shot through the arm, whilst inspecting the works of his engineers; amputation became necessary, and he was in a hopeless state when Rothweil capitulated on the 19th. The death of Guébriant led to the most disastrous consequences for France. His authority was unparalleled, and his popularity universal. He had acquired a great deal of experience on the field of battle, and he possessed in the highest degree that tact and that firmness which ensure discipline, whilst they win for a leader the respect of the troops placed under his command. No greater contrast can be fancied than the one between Guébriant and Rantzau, who, as senior officer, had to occupy the dangerous post left vacant by the death of one of the ablest generals France ever could boast of. Rantzau was undoubtedly brave, but he lacked that moral influence which arises from high principle and elevation of mind. At court he was an obsequious follower of Mazarin; amongst his soldiers he appeared in his natural character—a rough, ill-tempered, unmannerly commander, often overpowered by his drinking habits. The Weimarians refused to obey him, and affairs got into so thorough a state of confusion that, as the Marquis de Montausier, an eye-witness, remarked, there were as many different opinions as there were general officers in the army. With enemies always on the alert, the consequences of such a state of things were only too obvious; they were felt immediately. The Weimarian army was defeated at Tutlingen; in short, matters had reached such a

state in Germany, that unless a firm hand interposed to enforce discipline in the severest and most unflinching manner, all must be lost. Mazarin, nothing daunted, wrote to his agents abroad, d'Avaux and Servien, for the purpose of quieting the allies of France; and, overcoming the distrust with which he considered the House of Bouillon, he appointed Marshal Turenne to the difficult task of placing the forces in Germany once more on a right footing. "I do not speak to you," writes Mazarin, "of all M. de Turenne's qualities. By his birth he is allied to the greatest German families; her Majesty has lately honoured him with the dignity of Marshal of France; and he possesses the highest military talents. He has long fought in Germany, in company of those whom he is now appointed to command, and who, as we certainly know, have for him the affection and esteem he deserves. We can thus anticipate that, under such a leader, the reputation and advantages we had lost will soon be retrieved, and that the astonishment which may have struck our allies on this score will soon vanish away." *

Turenne, recalled from Italy, where the war was feebly carried on, accepted the post of danger, and fully justified the prime minister's confidence. Sacrificing his family interests to those of the country, he started immediately for Germany. In many respects he seemed the counterpart of the illustrious general whose loss France was deploring; calmness, firmness, and steadiness of purpose were

* *Lettres de Mazarin*, vol. i. pp. 475–479.

his distinguishing qualities. He might not possess Condé's dash, but had that prudence which is infinitely better amidst difficult circumstances. He was, besides, well acquainted with Germany, and his great reputation as a warrior and a disciplinarian could not but secure him the respect of the Weimarians. Reinforced by Condé at the head of ten thousand men, he resolved upon making a bold move; and the two generals attacked the celebrated François de Mercy, a Lorraine commander in the service of the Bavarians. He had just taken Freiburg, in Suabia, and it was under the walls of that town that the terrible battle was fought which added so much to the glory both of Turenne and of Condé. The French forces amounted to twenty thousand men. The Imperialists occupied an important position, well defended, and where they seemed likely to resist every attempt against them. Mercy was, however, compelled to give way, and he withdrew his troops, but only to establish himself, the next day, on a ground still more advantageous to him than the former one. Turenne recommended caution, and would have temporized; the Duke d'Enghien, on the contrary, immediately ordered a renewal of the attack. It was at first disastrous for the French. D'Espenan, who at the head of two regiments (Persan and Enghien) endeavoured to force through the Bavarian entrenchments, was received by so murderous a discharge of artillery and of musketry that his soldiers drew back and gave way. Was the attempt, then, to be forsaken? No; unless the

French wished to lose all the advantage of the campaign. "In one moment the prince made up his mind. He alighted from his horse, took up his position at the head of the regiment of Conti, ordered Count de Tournon to lead on the regiment of Mazarin to the attack, and marched straight to the formidable entrenchments behind which Mercy awaited him. Marshal de Guiche, and all the general officers who accompanied him—Marsin, Mauvillé, Léchelle, La Moussaie, Jarzé, chevaliers De Gramont and De Chabot, Isigny, Meilles, La Baume, Tourville, Barbantane, Desbroteaux, Aspremont, all the *élite* of the young nobility gathered round the Duke d'Enghien—rushed headlong towards the positions of the enemy. 'It is incredible,' says La Moussaie, 'what joy so extraordinary a display of courage inspired into the troops.' Here it is that tradition places a circumstance to which no contemporary writer alludes, but which paints with much force the irresistible impetuosity of the leader, and the *entraînement* of the soldiers. It is reported that the Duke d'Enghien threw his general's staff into the midst of the enemies, and that the whole army rushed to pick it up. What is certain, is that Condé displayed an intrepidity above all praise." *

The victory of Freiburg, strange to say, created at Court more dissatisfaction than enthusiasm. The heavy losses sustained by the French were especially dwelt upon. It was said that the results obtained did not nearly compensate for the waste of life, and

* Chéruel, vol. i. p. 305.

d'Enghien's political enemies took the opportunity of depreciating him in the eyes of the queen. Public opinion, as we find it expressed in the memoirs and journals of the day,* seemed unanimous, if not in condemning the young general, at all events in underrating the consequences of his hard-won victory. "Every one," says Olivier d'Ormesson, "complained that a *Te Deum* had been ordered for the victory of Freiburg when we had lost many soldiers without any result worth noticing. The truth is, that the enemies, after having placed a strong garrison in Freiburg, had spontaneously left their entrenchments, effecting their retreat almost unopposed, and abandoning the useless baggage. Thus M. le Prince was blamed for wishing a *Te Deum* to be sung on that occasion, and people said, as a matter of fact, that Monsieur had objected to it, and that the attack of Freiburg had been considered impossible."

We find the following strictures in one of the innumerable gazettes of the day:—

"The *Te Deum* sung on the occasion of the victory at Freiburg was somewhat hastened through the urgent prayers and requests of M. le Prince and Madame la Princesse to the queen, who did not wish it to be sung before well-authenticated news had reached us of the retaking of Freiburg, since it was for that purpose that this terrible fight had taken place. . . . We who are perfectly disinterested, and have only in view truth and the good of the

* See Olivier d'Ormesson, *Journal*, vol. i. p. 210.

State, must suspend our judgment a little longer before blaming any one." *

Mazarin knew better; he saw how real were the advantages gained at Freiburg, and he wrote to the Duke d'Enghien a despatch in which he awarded both to him and to Marshal Turenne the praise which was so justly their due. We quote the introductory and the concluding paragraphs:—

"If the joy I have felt at the news of the victory you have just won was not tempered by the fear I experience at the danger you have encountered, it would, I own, be excessive. I am, nevertheless, very much elated by it in the midst of this apprehension itself, and I trust that, having expressed part of what I feel to your family, and especially to your sister,† she will have noticed that both in my heart and in my words my joy was not inferior to her own. I believe that in saying this I say everything, but I am only speaking the truth.

"In consequence of this, allow me to add that you were born not to envy the glory of the greatest captains and the most valiant princes who have ever lived; not yet twenty-three years old, you have accomplished what the most famous among them have not succeeded in doing during their whole life; and, if I may with propriety allude here to my own interest, I can never propose to you anything for the good of the State, however difficult it may be, but you can easily bring it about, nor form any design

* Quoted by D'Ormesson, i. p. 210, *note*.

† Madame de Longueville.

without trusting that if you undertake it nothing will prevent it from being carried out, whatever resistance and contradiction it may meet with in the mind of others.

"But allow me to entreat you, for God's sake, not to venture too rashly a life so precious as yours is, and I regard it as a miracle that you should have returned from a place where nearly all those who accompanied you have been either killed or wounded. I assure you that when I think on the subject I have some difficulty in quieting myself, and in not being alarmed at a danger which only exists in my memory.

* * * * * *

"I shall tell you nothing here about M. le Maréchal de Turenne, of whom we have often conversed together—no one can know better than you how much I esteem and love him, and whether it is in his power to do anything surpassing the opinion I entertain of him—but I cannot conceal from you the unutterable joy I feel at seeing the satisfaction he has at being connected with you, and with all those who serve under you. The praises they bestow upon you, and especially the way in which M. de Turenne writes about you, can be neither stronger nor more heartfelt than it is. Seeing, also, how thoroughly you are satisfied with them, I venture to say that, thanks to this union, this correspondence of esteem and of affection, there is nothing in the world which cannot be undertaken except with the certainty of decided success." *

* Mazarin, *Lettres*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 33-35.

There is, of course, a good deal of Mazarin's habitual flattery in the above letter, but it is not difficult to discern a feeling of genuine admiration for the young hero who had accomplished so many things within the short space of one year. The cardinal-minister was, after all, an excellent judge; he knew how real were the advantages gained at Freiburg. The Bavarian army was almost entirely destroyed, and it would have been on his part both an act of injustice and a deplorable want of foresight had he allowed himself to be guided by the impressions of an excitable people, ever ready to exaggerate or to depreciate without measure the talents of their generals.

Freiburg, indeed, remained in the possession of the Imperialists, but they had to abandon all the rest of the surrounding district, from Philipsburg to Mayence (August, 1644).

During the course of the following year, Turenne marched boldly into the very heart of the empire, when the celebrated General Torstenson, at the head of the Swedes, urged him to come and finish the war by the taking of Vienna. Unfortunately, his army, consisting chiefly of soldiers recruited in Germany, did not second his courage, and he was defeated at Mariendal (or Mergentheim) by Mercy (May 5, 1645). At this news the Duke d'Enghien, accompanied by Marshal de Gramont, arrived with a reinforcement of ten thousand men. He crossed the Rhine in July, near Spires, joined the remainder of Turenne's army, the Swedes commanded by Königs-

mark, and the Hessians under the orders of Gneis. He was then at the head of about twenty-six thousand men, and, assisted by admirable officers, he marched in the direction of Nordlingen, where information suddenly reached him that Mercy was not a quarter of an hour off. The Bavarians had concealed their march with the greatest care. They numbered only fourteen thousand men, but had taken up an extremely strong position. The first attack resulted in the defeat of the French left wing, commanded by Condé himself. Turenne, who led the right, was on the other hand more successful, and just at that moment the news was spread that Mercy had been mortally wounded by a cannon-ball. The Bavarians immediately became disheartened, and were finally completely beaten (August 3, 1645). In this long struggle Mercy gave proof of a military genius quite worthy of his two illustrious rivals. "During the course of the two campaigns which the Duke d'Enghien, Marshal de Gramont, and Marshal Turenne fought against him," says Gramont, "these generals have never planned anything in their councils of war which could be advantageous to the king's arms, and consequently injurious to those of the emperor, but Mercy guessed and anticipated it, just as if he had been present at their deliberations, and as if they had let him into the secret of their designs." Let us add that the victory of Nordlingen was productive of no advantage to the French, because, whilst the Bavarians received important reinforcements, Condé and Turenne had none, and

found themselves obliged to retire under the walls of Philipsburg.

It was not only in Germany that the struggle against the House of Austria was carried on by France. Prince Thomas of Savoy, assisted by the French fleet stationed in the Mediterranean, obtained some success on the shores of Tuscany; Count d'Harcourt defeated the Spaniards in Catalonia; the Duke d'Orléans, with Rantzau as his lieutenant, and the Dutch as his allies, worthily maintained the glory of the French arms in the Netherlands. There it was that all the efforts of the campaign of 1646 were concentrated; Bergues, Courtrai, Mardyck, Furnes, and finally Dunkirk, successively fell into the power of Louis XIV.'s generals. The Spaniards might feel and did feel humiliated at seeing themselves thus compelled to give up their conquests in Northern Europe; but that their own native land, the home of the proud *hidalgos*, should be occupied by strangers was for them a far more severe blow, and the vicissitudes which attended the siege of Lerida prove this in the most significant manner. Marshal de la Mothe-Houdancourt had already been found fault with for his extraordinary incapacity (1643). He attempted to relieve the city of Lerida, which was besieged by the Spaniards; but, not having thought proper to wait for the reinforcements despatched by Mazarin, he experienced a severe check, lost nearly two thousand men, and, what was more, Lerida surrendered to the Spaniards on the 30th of July. A fresh failure before Tarragona brought

matters to a crisis. La Mothe-Houdancourt was recalled, arrested, and shut up in the castle of Pierre-Encise, whilst legal proceedings were instituted against him, on the ground not only of military incapacity, but of malversation and other more serious offences. We cannot dwell upon this affair, in which, as it was thought, the personal animosity of Chancellor Le Tellier went a great deal towards bringing about the disgrace of the marshal; all we can say is, that Count d'Harcourt, sent to quiet the Catalonians, and to repair, if possible the blunders of La Mothe-Houdancourt, was not a whit more successful before Lerida (November, 1646). The garrison, amounting to three thousand five hundred infantry and five hundred cavalry, was commanded by an experienced officer, Don Antonio Britto. Condé had only ten thousand infantry and three thousand horse. Under his orders were Gramont, Marsin, Arnauld de Corbeville, Châtillon, La Moussaie, and others who had distinguished themselves during the preceding campaigns. It is a pity that the Prince de Condé (he enjoyed that title since December, 1646, in consequence of his father's death) should have indulged in a style of bragging which is extremely dangerous when it is not accompanied by success. He was finally obliged to raise the siege of Lerida (June, 1647), and the humiliating reverse was the signal for a perfect avalanche of epigrams, songs, and lampoons of every kind. Condé and Mazarin both threatened to punish in an exemplary manner the authors of these indiscreet pro-

ductions; and the poet Sarasin, urged on, it is said, by the Coadjutor of Paris, Paul de Gondi, with whom we shall have a great deal to do in the next chapter, rendered himself particularly obnoxious by his outspoken satires. He paid for the others, and was sent to the Bastille. (§)

The question still remained, how to prevent the possible consequences of the reverses in Catalonia, when the revolt of the Neapolitans against the Spanish rule, long fomented and prepared by Mazarin's agents, broke out very opportunely in the month of July. Thomas Aniello, better known as Masaniello, their leader, was murdered soon after the beginning of the insurrection; but this incident did not stop the popular movement, and the Neapolitans, exposed to the fire of the Spanish artillery, which had retained possession of the fortresses commanding the town, asked the Duke de Guise, who happened then to be at Rome, to come to their assistance. The Lorraine family had for a long time put forth claims to the kingdom of Naples: Henri de Guise thought that a favourable occasion had at last offered to revive these pretensions, and, after having obtained some success over the Spaniards, he was ill-advised enough to ask Anne of Austria for assistance in the tone rather of a sovereign who appeals to an ally than in that of an officer addressing himself to his superior. He was virtually left to shift for himself, and, abandoned by the discouraged Neapolitans, he fell into the power of the viceroy, the Count d'Oñate, who sent

him to Spain, where he remained a prisoner for the space of five years.

In the meanwhile, the Prince de Condé, recalled from the Peninsula, had been ordered to Flanders. Great efforts were being made there by Leopold, Archduke of Austria, to strike a serious blow, and to crush finally the power of France, which seemed to be suffering rather severely from the checks it had met with in Spain and in Italy. But before watching the events which, in the Netherlands, brought to a close so gloriously for Mazarin that terrible war, we must see what Turenne was doing in Germany. He still lingered on the banks of the Rhine, determined to carry out his favourite plan of a junction with the Swedish troops, and to win his way rather as a tactician than by brilliant but venturesome *coups d'éclat*. His army was only eight thousand men strong. He took possession of Trèves, crossed the Rhine, drove the Imperialists from Hesse, joined the Swedish general Wrangel, and, marching with him upon Munich, obliged the Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian, to abandon the Austrian alliance, and to accept the terms of a treaty dictated by Mazarin (March, 1646). Scarcely, however, was he out of the way than the Bavarians returned once more to their former engagements. Obliged, on the one hand, to fight the enemy, and on the other, to resist the orders of the Court, which kept thwarting his measures, Turenne made a fresh junction with the Swedes, defeated the Imperialist forces at Lavingen (November, 1647) and at Sum-

merhausen (May, 1648), and compelled the Elector of Bavaria, then an old man of eighty, to leave his dominions. These three years placed Marshal Turenne in the foremost rank of great captains.

Condé, as we have seen, was at that time in Flanders. He took possession of Ypres (May, 1648). During the siege of that place, the French had allowed Courtrai to fall into the hands of the enemy. They were threatening Dixmude, and meanwhile the Spaniards and Imperialists advanced towards Lens, a small town between Bethune and Douai. Condé marched forward to relieve it; but it had just capitulated when he arrived, and he found the enemy encamped in a strong position under the shelter of the walls. He might then have renewed the brilliant affair of Nordlingen; but he preferred retreating, and on the 20th of August, in the broad daylight, he moved in the direction of Bethune. He hoped to draw the Imperialist general Beck into the plain, and to oblige him to fight. He had carefully disposed his troops in view of this possible engagement. D'Erlach, with the German auxiliaries, formed the advanced guard, and would naturally, should the battle take place, act as the reserve. Marshal de Gramont, together with La Ferté Senneterre and the Marquis du Plessis-Bellière, led the left wing; the right one was commanded by Condé himself, and under him by Villequier d'Aumont, captain of the body-guard, the Marquis de Normoutiers, and Goyon de la Moussaie, whom we have so often named already. The centre had

for its general the Duke de Châtillon, and Cossé-Brissac had been appointed to direct the artillery. The battle was fought, as Condé had anticipated, and in the very best manner for the French, who, vigorously attacked at first and partly defeated, soon, however, recovered their advantage, and made terrible slaughter of the enemy. As at Rocroy, the Spanish infantry was the last to bear the brunt of the battle, but they did not show the same steadiness; they asked for quarter, and gave up their arms at once. The enemy lost on that occasion eight thousand men, of whom three thousand fell on the battle-field. The Archduke Leopold and Count de Fuensaldagne fled to Douai, leaving Lens in the possession of the French. Thirty pieces of artillery, a large quantity of provisions, the whole of the baggage, and one hundred standards were taken, of which some had been for eighty years triumphantly borne by the Spaniards on all the battle-fields of Europe. The battle of Lens (battle of Thybarra in *Le Grand Cyrus*) is one of those engagements which may be called decisive, and which form, so to say, an epoch in history. It checked for a short time, at any rate, the first fury of the *Fronde*, which was master of the capital, and it completed the destruction of the Spanish infantry. More than that, it proved that, as M. Cousin very aptly observes,* war is above all a work of art, and that, besides undaunted valour, it requires, on the part of the general, intellectual qualities of no mean order. There

* *La Société Française au XVII^e Siècle.*

exists several accounts of it. One published in the *Gazette* of August 22 is merely a summary; another, dated 28th of the same month, is a minute narrative evidently drawn up, not by Condé himself, but by one of the officers of his staff. It is, however, difficult to appreciate from this document the true character of the battle, and by reading it one might be led to suppose, what would be essentially false, that the affair was rather a *coup d'audace* than a battle in the true sense of the word, carefully thought out and scientifically conducted. Thus the last wrecks of the terrible power of Charles V. and of Philip II. disappeared, and, as Mazarin himself said, the signing of a lasting peace seemed now more possible than it ever had been before (May 19, 1648). As early as 1643, preliminary conferences had been opened for that purpose at Münster and Osnabruck, in Westphalia. The great point to settle being the relative position of the Catholic and the Protestant powers, the Congress was divided into two assemblies. Under the mediation of the Pope and of the Republic of Venice, the Catholic powers assembled at Münster, viz. the empire of Germany represented by Austria, France, and Spain; the city of Osnabruck was the place of rendezvous for the Protestant powers, Germany and Sweden, for instance, with the King of Denmark as mediator. We need scarcely observe that the purpose of the negotiations being to remodel, if we may so say, the map of Europe, the settlement of the problem required time. At last the treaties were

signed at Münster and at Osnabruck on the 24th of October, 1648. The French representatives were Claude de Mesmes, Count d'Avaux, and Abel Servien, both men of acknowledged capacity, but whom it was difficult to keep on good terms with one another. The Duke de Longueville had been ordered to accompany them, with the view of putting a stop to quarrels which might compromise the success of the transactions, and destroy the dignity of the French embassy. Mazarin took the additional precaution of securing the services of Benjamin Priolo, Longueville's secretary, who kept him *au courant* of all that was going on. The duke, we are told, felt more disposed to follow the opinions expressed by D'Avaux; he considered this diplomatist as the best authority on German affairs, and the only person capable of conducting the negotiations to a prosperous issue. He was supple, plausible, and insinuating, a thorough expert in the art of flattery. Servien's tone, on the other hand, was haughty and disagreeable. "D'Avaux bleeds his patients," said the Duke de Longueville; "Servien hacks them to pieces." Priolo added that the routine of business and the course of the negotiations would infallibly bring to light the decided superiority of Servien over D'Avaux—a vain, conceited diplomatist, jealous of every superiority, and making a mystery of the merest trifles.

Without entering here into the details of the preliminary conferences which led to the peace of Westphalia, we shall state the principal results so far

especially as France was concerned. The district of what is generally known as the *three bishoprics* (Metz, Toul, and Verdun) had been conquered by the French as far back as the reign of Henry II., but this fact had never been recognized by the empire; according to one of the clauses, the entire district remained now absolutely separated from Germany. France obtained, besides, Old Brisach on the right bank of the Rhine; the Landgraviate of Upper and Lower Alsace; the Sungau (south of Upper Alsace), and the *prefectorate* of the imperial cities, Haguenau, Colmar, Schelestadt, Wissemburg, Landau, Oberehnheim, Rosheim, Münster, Kaepersberg, and Turingheim, together with all the rights formerly enjoyed by the House of Austria. The French might keep a garrison in Philipsburg, whilst, on the other hand, the emperor pledged himself not to allow any fortress to be built on the same bank of the Rhine between that town and Bâle. The free navigation of the Rhine was guaranteed, with unrestricted access to both banks for purposes of trade and commerce. Finally, the rights of suzerainty of the empire over the town of Pignerol, which France had ceded in 1681 to the Duke of Savoy, were abandoned. We thus see that France remained absolute mistress of Alsace. She was obliged, it is true, to give up all the places she occupied in Germany, with the exception, as we have seen, of Old Brisach and Philipsburg; but as the Imperialists could not obtain from the Spaniards the surrender of the town of Frankendal, which they held in the

Palatinate, the French would not evacuate the *forest towns* (Sickingen, Waldshut, Lauffenburg, and Rheinfeld). For the same reason, Mazarin declined to pay the three millions of livres tournois promised to the archduke Ferdinand Charles as an indemnity for the cession he had made of his domains in Alsace. The treaty contained several obscure and tedious clauses, which, later on, Louis XIV. managed so completely to explain away that he exercised his rights of sovereignty quite as much in Alsace as in the rest of his dominions.

The great principles of religious liberty and of the balance of power throughout Europe are two of the most important results obtained by the plenipotentiaries who negotiated at Münster and at Osnabruck. If we cast a glance at the map of Europe in 1648, we see at once that there was not a single nationality strong enough to overmaster the rest, and to impose its rule, as had been so lately the case with Spain and with Austria. The latter of these empires was absolutely crushed by the Thirty Years War, and had neither men nor money. The Spaniards had lost their influence in Italy, besides having to contend at home against both Portugal and Catalonia. We look northwards, and see the faithful ally of France, Sweden, still strong and flourishing, but having to take into account Denmark and Poland as possible rivals, or, at any rate, as political elements of no contemptible weight. Russia, or Muscovy, as it was then called, was not considered one of the European states; it was

regarded as part of Asia. England, distracted by civil wars, had no share in continental complications. France only remained as the leading country. But the moderation of its policy could inspire no suspicion, no fear to the subordinate principalities; its mission was that of an ally, a friend—not that of a master. The Treaty of Westphalia has been always considered the charter of international relations between the European powers, and it is no exaggeration to say that if Louis XIV. had not fallen later on into exactly the same error as the House of Hapsburg, that diplomatic event would have secured for ever the greatness of France and the freedom of Europe.

Montglat's remarks are worth quoting here, as the natural conclusion of the present chapter.

"France had never been seen, since the days of Charlemagne, exalted to such a high pitch of greatness and of glory as it was then. She had humbled the pride of the House of Austria, extended on all sides the limits of her empire, and, full of victories and of triumphs, she was dreaded by her enemies and respected by her allies, when fortune, weary of favouring her, turned its back upon her, and showed by its fickleness that Frenchmen, invincible against their enemies, could be conquered only by themselves." *

M. Michelet, in his *Modern History*, compares France, decorated outside with the standards of Rocroy, Freiburg, and Lens, but ruined and laid waste at home, to those old dilapidated palaces

* *Memoirs*, Twenty-fourth Campaign.

which are still to be seen in Venice, where the splendid porticoes and marble entrance-steps, sumptuously carved with bas-reliefs, escutcheons, and medallions, conceal squalor, misery, and dirt. We have just been admiring the bright side of the picture; it is time that we should see what was the state of affairs at home, and how a financial crisis well-nigh brought France to its ruin.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE FRONDE.

EVEN at this distance of time it is somewhat difficult to speak about the *Fronde*. There are still persons who, looking merely at the share which the aristocracy took in it, believe the whole movement to have been aimless, useless, and ridiculous. In their opinion the only motive which brought about the civil war was the desire on the part of the nobles to recover the position of which they had been deprived by Richelieu, and to take advantage of the regency in order to carry out their designs. Such critics do not stop to inquire into the state of the kingdom in general, the disorder of the finances, the appalling misery which prevailed everywhere; finally, they seem to forget that the mere caprice of a few ambitious men and meddlesome women could not have succeeded in stirring up to rebellion the Parliament, the *bourgeoisie*, and the people. We can quite allow that the *results* of the *Fronde* were utterly out of proportion with the excitement it created; but the enormous mass of documents which

we possess on the subject shows that between the years 1648 and 1653 French society, from the highest to the lowest ranks, was thoroughly agitated. If you open the endless volumes of contemporary memoirs, you find very little indeed about the treaties of Westphalia, the revolutions of England, Catalonia, Portugal, Naples, and Sicily; whilst they give the minutest particulars respecting the conflict of the Parliament with Mazarin, the barricades, the war in Paris, the captivity of the princes, etc., etc. The fact is that, in spite of the jokes about the *arrêt d'oignon*, the *première aux Corinthiens*, and the *taxe des portes cochères*, there was "something rotten in the State of Denmark." It is absolutely false to describe the *Fronde* as *une plaisanterie à main armée*. Great interests were at stake; the Crown was threatened, although not so seriously, perhaps, as in England; and the plan of a reform in the government was much more than a mere idle expression. We can call in here the authority of Louis XIV. in support of the opinion we have just expressed on the serious character of the *Fronde*. He knew pretty well what it really meant, and his hatred of all opposition was so intense that he never forgave either the Jansenists or the Frondeurs. In 1688, that is to say, more than fifteen years after the last disturbances, he ordered the strictest search to be made for all the documents, letters, ordinances, decrees referring to that fatal epoch which might still be preserved in the various law courts, and he had them destroyed. The episode of Fargues, com-

promised during the civil war, and prosecuted *twelve* years after by order of the king, is a case which proves abundantly what we are now saying. It is found in St. Simon's memoirs, and is one of the most interesting chapters in that wonderful autobiography. We shall give it here as a curious specimen of the *Grand Monarque's* vindictiveness.

The noble historian tells us that Fargues * was arrested in 1665 as guilty of a murder committed during the *Fronde;* the officers of the Parliament seized him at his own house. He was brought to Paris, in conformity with an order signed by the senior president, De Lamoignon, condemned to death, and executed. "He (Fargues)," says St. Simon, "met his accusation with a very powerful defence, and further alleged that the murder in question having occurred, in the heat of the disturbances and of the revolt of Paris, in Paris itself, the amnesty which had followed these events effaced the remembrance of everything which had taken place in those times of confusion, and covered every circumstance. . . . The distinguished courtiers who had been so well entertained at the unhappy man's house made every effort with the judges and with the king himself on his behalf, but all in vain. Fargues was immediately beheaded, and his confiscated estate was given as a reward to the senior president."

We know perfectly well that some of the particulars in this episode have been challenged as incorrect. It seems true, for instance, that Fargues

* See St. Simon's *Memoirs*, edit. of 1877, vol. iv.

was condemned to death, not for murder, but for theft, swindling, breach of trust, and other crimes of the same nature. It appears, further, that he was not condemned by the Parliament of Paris, but by the *intendant* of Amiens, and other judges duly appointed by the king. Still, all these inaccuracies in no way affect the main question, that after a space of twelve years, Louis XIV. wreaked his vengeance upon an unfortunate *Frondeur*, and punished him for an offence which, whatever its nature may have been, was certainly covered by the amnesty which the Government had publicly proclaimed at the conclusion of the troubles. M. Michelet, in his history of France, describes the *Fronde* as the "revolution of the honest against the dishonest." This expression, partly true, must be received only with considerable reservation. We can scarcely class the aristocracy of those days amongst the *honest*, with very few exceptions. They were, at any rate, politically incapable, and the course of events proved this beyond the power of contradiction. As for the *tiers-état*, they had not the experience of business, the training, the firmness of purpose which they displayed a century and a half later, and which gave to the revolution in England, at the very time of which we are now treating, its distinctive features. The Parliament of Paris can only be indirectly said to have represented the nation. They were a body of legists who, by their learning, their virtues, their truly Christian character, had earned the universal respect of their fellow-citizens, and whose decisions

were considered as final. That is exactly the reason why the king sent down for their approval all public acts of any importance, and not merely decrees respecting the raising and assessment of the taxes. The Parliament was distinctly regarded as acting in the place of the monarch, as forming part of his council; and being, as we have just said, men of the most unblemished character and of the greatest reputation, it was thought that the halo of integrity, of learning, and of patriotism by which they were surrounded would enable the Government measures to pass unchallenged and undiscussed. We see, then, that, as a matter of fact, the king, anxious to extend and consolidate his own authority, thought that he would find in the Parliament tools both ready and fit for the purpose; but he forgot that when a body of men are habitually asked to consider political questions, and to express their opinions about them, they are naturally led to ask themselves why *they* should not take an active and personal share in the settling of those questions—why, in short, they should not form part of the Government. Hence the numerous conflicts we have now to describe, and which, through the strange faults committed by the leaders of the opposition, ended in a form of despotism never known before in France.

In estimating the share taken by the Parliament in the wars of the *Fronde*, we must not forget that, although they stood up for what we should now designate as constitutional principles, it is not a question whether the majority of them did not make

the upholding of these principles an excuse or a cloak for covering their own selfish purposes. In the first place, it is impossible to assent to the proposition that they represented the French nation. They were merely a body of magistrates, the nominees of the king, and it was a piece both of impertinence and of ignorance on their part to give themselves out as superior to the States-general. Their great anxiety, after all, was to secure the enjoyment of their own privilege. The declaration of October 22, 1648, shows clearly that what they felt especially careful about was the permanent and undisturbed possession of their offices and their income.

No wonder that the *Fronde* has always been looked upon as one of the most despicable events in the history of France. The great moving force then was selfishness, and even persons who are especially disposed to sneer at the Christian doctrine of charity and self-sacrifice cannot help feeling the deepest contempt for those who make self-seeking the rule of their lives. Pleasure is one of the leading results of selfishness: now, pleasure, as we all know, was one of the chief springs in the history of the *Fronde*. The share which love-intrigues and petty rivalries had in the rebellion has been well described by all authors, both *ex professo* historians and autobiographers. For instance, the Coadjutor of Paris was completely ruled by Madame and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. Madame de Montbazon governed the Duke de Beaufort, whom she called familiarly a

simpleton (*un innocent*). Turenne, at Stenay, disgraced himself to be the slave of the Duchess de Longueville, and had as his rival the Duke de la Rochefoucauld. Condé revealed his secrets to Madame de Châtillon, who sold them to Mazarin. The gazettes of those days and the popular *Mazarinades* are full of such incidents, the narrative of which one would like to blot out of the pages of French history.

Financial difficulties were the original cause of the *Fronde*. The prodigalities of Anne of Austria and the ever-increasing expenses of the war had reduced France to a state of quasi-bankruptcy. The misery prevailing throughout the country was appalling. In Provence, in Languedoc, in Normandy, in fact, throughout all the provinces of the kingdom, commerce was at a standstill. The king, or his Government, acknowledged the utter impossibility they felt of meeting with the combined scourges of pestilence and famine, and by a decree bearing date February 14, 1651, they virtually delegated to Vincent de Paul the glorious functions of Grand Almoner of France. The power of doing good is certainly one of the greatest privileges that kings and rulers can enjoy, and they must either have sadly forgotten their duties, or be distressingly fettered not to be able to exercise it. Such was the case at the time of the *Fronde*. The public exchequer could give no assistance, and it was only the spirit of Christian charity, dauntless in the midst of the greatest difficulties, which had the means of reliev-

ing the urgent necessities of a population crushed almost beyond endurance. As a specimen of many other applications for help addressed to Vincent de Paul, we must quote the following letter from M. de la Fons, Lieutenant-General of the city of St. Quentin, in the north of France.

"The gifts which by the grace of God and by your care have been sent to the provinces of Picardy and Champagne, and which have been so impartially distributed by the persons whom you were pleased to appoint for the purpose, those gifts have restored life to thousands of wretched beings who were reduced by the misfortune of the wars to the last extremity, and I find myself obliged to express to you the gratitude which those persons feel for your kindness. We saw only last week as many as fourteen hundred destitute people, who had sought refuge in this town during the passage of the troops, fed daily from your alms; and there are at the present time upwards of one thousand in the town, besides those in the country, who can have no food except that which your charity provides for them. The misery is so great that the people in the villages have not even straw to lie upon, and the persons of the highest rank in the neighbourhood are destitute of all means of subsistence. There are some even who own property to the amount of more than two hundred thousand crowns, and who just now have not a piece of bread, but have been fasting for the last two days. All this, considering the position I occupy, and the knowledge I have of the state of things,

urges me to entreat you still to remain *the father of your country* (*le père de la patrie*); to preserve the life of so many poor sick and perishing whom your priests attend, and they do it most worthily." *

The above letter is only one out of a large number which we might quote. It is not too much to say that France was saved from utter ruin as much by the indefatigable zeal of men such as Vincent de Paul, the Jansenists, and the Protestants at home, as by the courage of Condé, Turenne, and Guébriant abroad; and yet the only reward which both Protestants and Jansenists received was persecution and death. If ever the finances of any State required firm and judicious management, it was certainly those of France when Mazarin took the head of affairs. The person whom he entrusted with that difficult task was a certain Particelli d'Emery, a Frenchman of Italian origin, not remarkably scrupulous, and who, like most financiers of that time, was hated by all those who had to do with him. He cared very little, however, for public opinion. "Les financiers," said he, "ne sont faits que pour être maudits." "Honesty and good faith," added he, in full council, "are the virtues of a tradesman." Such principles are not astonishing, coming from a man who, twenty years before his accession to power, had been condemned on a charge of fraudulent bankruptcy. He acted up to them: he had recourse to vexatious and ruinous ex-

* See Alph. Feillet, *La Misère au temps de la Fronde et St. Vincent de Paul*, pp. 249, and following.

pediencies; and he borrowed at twenty-five per cent., created offices which he sold at a high rate, suppressed the dividends of those whose money was invested in Government securities, and withheld the salaries of the clerks and other officers in the service of the Crown. In the year 1548, a decree had been made prohibiting building of any kind within a certain limit of the Paris suburbs, under pain of demolition and of a heavy fine. That decree had long been forgotten, and had fallen into disuse. D'Emery revived it, and the *édit du toisé*, as it was called, compelled the owners of houses to redeem themselves, at a very heavy cost, from the penalties pronounced against offenders (1644). The collecting of the various taxes was so stringently carried out that, in the year 1646, there were in the prisons of the kingdom twenty-three thousand persons confined as defaulters on that subject, and out of them five thousand died in captivity. "The whole realm," says Omer Talon, "was starved to death. If the peasant enjoyed the possession of his soul, it was simply because he could not put it up for sale by auction."

In resisting the financial measures introduced by d'Emery (1644, 1646, 1647), the Paris Parliament might legitimately assert that they were pleading the cause of the nation. At last a new edict affecting the sovereign courts drove them to take more energetic measures against the minister. They said that, the States-general not being summoned, the Paris Parliament occupied their place. Could they

not claim to be every whit as powerful as the English Commons, who were at that very time offering to the king a stubborn and effectual resistance? Finally, on the 15th of May, 1648, the four sovereign courts, the Parliament, the *Chambre des Comptes*, the *Cour des Aides*, and the *Grand Conseil*, met together in the *Chambre de St. Louis* at the *Palais de Justice*, "with the view of serving both the public in general and private individuals, and of reforming the abuses which had crept into the State." M. Sainte-Beuve has called this important step (the *arrêt d'union*,* to designate it by its popular name) "a charter in the bud" (*une charte en germe*): it is impossible to give a better or more correct definition of the movement. Outwardly, says another historian,† it was an act of usurpation attempted by the legislative power under the traditional form of remonstrance. To tell the sober truth, the right of remonstrance was nothing else, under another name, but the fundamental law written in our modern constitutions, which insists upon guarantees and securities against arbitrary taxation and arbitrary imprisonment. Besides the right of veto on financial questions, the sovereign courts claimed the same right as to the creation of new offices, and, thus armed against all laws modifying their constitution, they really rose to the position of the first power in the State. If, says M. Thierry—what was impossible then—the

* Mazarin, mispronouncing the name, described it as the "arrêt d'oignon."

† M. Augustin Thierry.

Crown, avowing itself vanquished in the struggle, had accepted the conditions just enumerated, the Government of France would have become a monarchy, tempered by the legal action of the law courts, raised to the dignity which is conferred by the exercise of political rights; but an attempt of that nature cannot be extemporized. The progress of revolutions is always the same; according to the march which they uniformly pursue, the boldness of the opposition coincided then with an act of weakness on the part of the Government. Anne of Austria, urged by Mazarin and by the dethroned Queen of England, made incomplete concessions, to which the public answered too late. Then it was that violent means took the place of legal actions, and that the *journée des barricades* (August 26, 1648) brought the Government and the Parisians into open conflict with each other. Now is the proper time for introducing our readers to a close acquaintance with some of the leading actors in the struggle, and we shall endeavour to describe as well as we can, in the first place, the hero of the *Fronde*, Cardinal de Retz.

In that composite individuality, in that assemblage of the most scandalous vices and of all the best qualities, how can we possibly distinguish the prominent features and bring out the leading characteristics? Shall we consider the Churchman, the high dignitary of an establishment which has produced so many exemplary prelates on the one hand, and so many traitors to the cause of Christianity on the other? De Retz himself tells us that his soul

was the *least ecclesiastical that can be imagined*, and the account he gives us of his youth, unblushing in its honesty, may well rouse in us feelings of thorough disgust. The fact is that, by the scandal of his life, he wanted to convince his friends of a fact which was patent to everybody, namely, his unfitness for the clerical profession. In those days, however, ordination and the tonsure were not deemed incompatible with duels and love-adventures, and the coadjutor, determined, as M. Sainte-Beuve wittily remarks, to be Cæsar everywhere and in every station of life, soon won for himself the most undesirable reputation; whilst, on the other hand, his brilliant successes at the Sorbonne, the solidity of his theological attainments, the merits of his sermons, caused him to be looked upon as a divine of the highest promise.

The Benedictine Don Calmet has left, on the intellectual training of the future cardinal, a few details which are not without their interest. "He was born with such wonderful dispositions for the acquiring of all sciences that in a very short time he learnt perfectly the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, and French languages. He succeeded equally well in the study of eloquence, philosophy, and divinity, and the whole course of his education was followed by the most satisfactory results." * His library, the greater part of which belongs to the Abbey of St. Mihiel, contains books in the various languages just named. Madame de Sévigné tells us that

* *Bibliothèque Lorraine*, article *Gondi*.

during his retreat at St. Mihiel, he used to read his breviary *in Hebrew*." *

De Retz, however, was born to be a politician, or, rather, a conspirator. Richelieu found it out at once; for, having seen a copy of the young abbé's *Histoire de la Conjuration de Fiesque*, he said of the author, "Here is a dangerous fellow." On another occasion he is reported to have observed that he had a "hang-dog countenance" (*un visage tout à fait patibulaire*). It is quite clear for us that De Retz wanted to supplant Mazarin; but there was hardly in him the stuff of a prime minister. His proper place was at the head of the mob, in the turmoil of the street, like the demagogues of the time of the League. He loved intrigue for intrigue's sake, and he says himself that "it requires greater qualities to make a good party-chief than an emperor of the world." But with all his revolutionist tendencies, the Coadjutor saw admirably the defects and the false position of the *Frondeurs*, with whom he had cast in his lot. It is evident enough that, after the day of the barricades, he had serious thoughts of *turning over a new leaf*, to use a familiar expression, and of doing his duty as a faithful servant of the king. Unfortunately, his past reputation was against him; he had not the strength of mind necessary to shake off his old habits, and when, in his relations with Anne of Austria, he tried to play the part of a conciliator between the queen and the opposition, he found himself exactly circumstanced as Mirabeau

* Letter of August 9, 1675.

was a century and a half later, when he was brought into contract with Marie Antoinette. In both instances the chief actor had to pay the severe but just penalty of past misdemeanours. They were not really trusted, but only made use of as a matter of absolute necessity; so that, whilst they did not enjoy the confidence of the Court, they fell, at the same time, under the suspicion of their late associates.

With reference to the literary merits of the Cardinal de Retz, there can be but one opinion. He is often inaccurate, especially when it serves his purpose to be so; but his powers of style are wonderful, and M. Sainte-Beuve does not exaggerate the merits of the second book of the memoirs, when he places it on the same rank as the choicest pages of Bossuet and Montesquieu.*

The best representation, in every respect, of what is generally known as *La Fronde Parlementaire* is acknowledged to be the president, Mathieu Molé. De Retz has given of him a portrait which forms one of the masterpieces in his memoirs, and which most judges are inclined to regard as a striking likeness. We must not be dazzled, however, by the coadjutor's praises, any more than we should endorse his many prejudices. "If it was not a kind of blasphemy," says De Retz, "to proclaim that some one in this our century has shown greater courage than Gustavus Adolphus and M. le Prince, I would declare that it has been Molé, the senior president. . . . His language was not refined (*il n'étoit pas*

* *Causeries du Lundi*, vol. v.

*congru dans sa langue*), but he possessed a kind of eloquence which, whilst charming the ear, took hold of the imagination. He desired the good of the State by preference to everything else, even the interests of his family, although he appeared to be too fond of his relatives for a magistrate; but he had not a genius elevated enough to find out at the proper time all the good which he might have done. He presumed too much on his power; he thought that he could govern both the Court and his colleagues, and he succeeded neither on the one side nor on the other. He became suspected by both, and, with all his good intentions, did a great deal of harm." * In another passage the coadjutor accuses Mathieu Molé of being too stiff, too inflexible (*tout d'une pièce*). It has been justly remarked that although the portrait from which we have been quoting is not absolutely false, neither does it give a correct representation of the *premier président.* The Coadjutor had only seen him acting during the stormy scenes of the *Fronde,* resisting, on the one side, the rebellion of the mob, and on the other, that of the Parliament. If Molé was distinguished by his inflexible character, he could also, when circumstances required, show skill, prudence, and tact. Contemporary memoirs reproach him for manifesting too much condescension towards Mazarin and the Court, with the view of providing for his children's interests. If we believe some writers, the prime minister, alluding to the expenses incurred by Molé's

* Cardinal de Retz, *Mémoires*, ii. pp. 187, 188.

sons, said one day, "That long-beard costs me more to support than a dozen others put together." He was a great magistrate, M. Cousin remarks, and even a great man; but he was a man, after all.

Just as Madame de Chevreuse played an important part during the administration of Cardinal de Richelieu, so the Duchess de Longueville and Mademoiselle de Montpensier have identified themselves for ever with the disturbances of the *Fronde*. We must not take M. Cousin's estimate of the former. In giving it, he has allowed himself to be influenced by the most unaccountable enthusiasm. The share which the ladies of the aristocracy took in those disorders contributed to give to the *Fronde* that stamp of ridicule by which it is exclusively known to many writers, and the extraordinary freaks of *la Grande Mademoiselle*, her behaviour on the day of the battle in the Rue St. Antoine, and her martial ardour in the company of her two *maréchales de camp*, Mesdames de Fiesque * and de Frontenac, seem more like pages from the fashionable novels of those days than like historical events.

Let us return, however, to the narrative of the incidents which preceded immediately the affair of the barricades. Amongst the members of the Paris Parliament most obnoxious to the Court were three magistrates, Novion de Blancmesnil, Charton, and Broussel. Voltaire remarks of them that they were not party-chiefs, but that they acted under the

* On this lady, see M. Ch. L. Livet's *Portraits du Grand Siècle*, chap. i.

inspiration of the Cardinal de Retz and the other real leaders of the movement. Their incapacity was notorious. Charton had been nicknamed *le président je dis ça*, because he always began and concluded his arguments by that phrase. Broussel's only merit consisted in his white hair, his frantic hatred of Mazarin, and his persistent course of opposing every measure started by the minister, quite irrespective of its real merit. He was thought very little of by his colleagues, but had contrived to become the idol of the populace. It was resolved to arrest these three men in the broad daylight, whilst the *Te Deum* was being sung at Notre Dame, the metropolitan church, to celebrate the victory won at Lens by the Prince de Condé. The most picturesque description of the *journée des barricades* is the one given by the coadjutor in his immortal memoirs; but it was evidently written with a view to effect, and when we compare it with other contemporary documents, we find that De Retz was not quite so disinterested as he would make us believe in the part which he assumed of champion of the people. If he had declared against the Court, it was because he had been refused the governorship of Paris, which the Duke de Montbazon had promised to resign in his favour. He aspired to nothing short of the temporal as well as the spiritual direction of the metropolis.*

Louis XIV., only ten years old then, hearing of the victory of Lens, said, "The Parliament will be

* Gui Joly, *Mémoires;* Mazarin, *Carnets* and letters.

very much annoyed at this" (*le Parlement sera bien fâché*). In fact, the religious ceremony had barely finished, when Comminges, captain of the guards, who had been entrusted with the dangerous task of arresting the three personages above mentioned, proceeded to carry out the instructions he had received. Charton and two or three inferior conspirators managed to escape, and Blancmesnil, seized whilst he was leaving Notre Dame, was conveyed to Vincennes without much difficulty. The capture of Broussel was entirely another matter, and we shall quote the graphic description given of it by Mrs. Freer, in her excellent work on the regency of Anne of Austria.

"Placing himself at the head of some thirty soldiers, Comminges set off on foot, being preceded by a coach and escort. Broussel lived in a narrow little street on the banks of the river—a populous part of the city. . . . The back of his abode looked on the river, and beneath the windows was a wharf, a favourite resort of bargemen. The coach, drawn by four horses, stopped at Broussel's door. Comminges knocked, and was immediately admitted by a boy, who, when he perceived the soldiers with their gleaming swords, uttered a yell of dismay and fled up the stairs, followed closely by the queen's lieutenant. Broussel was quietly dining with his son, his daughter, and an old housekeeper; he sat in *déshabillé*, wearing a black gown and slippers, and, under pretext of indisposition, had slyly excused himself from being present at the ceremony in Notre

Dame. Comminges explained that he was the bearer of her Majesty's warrant for his arrest, and if Broussel was wise, he would submit and depart quietly. Broussel turned pale and trembled, asking respite on account of his indisposition. The old woman, meantime, with furious gestures, vowing that her master should not be made a prisoner, rushed to a window, and shouted, '*Au secours! au secours! holà!* To the rescue of the father of the people!' Soon people began to stir. The shrieks of Broussel's terrified household attracted the attention of groups of watermen who were lounging below on the wharf. The little street presently swarmed with people, who surrounded the coach with its attendant soldiers. When it was understood that the queen, or rather M. Mazarin, had commanded Broussel to be carried off, the fury of the people took the practical turn of cries, groans, and blows. Showers of stones were hurled at the coach, and several burly men made a dash at the horses, to cut the traces. Comminges, hearing the commotion without, seized Broussel in his arms, and, cutting short his adieus and plaints, carried him to the street, and flung him into the coach, which immediately moved away. Amid a rain of stones and imprecations, the cavalcade slowly proceeded, the way having to be forced by the soldiers. Comminges sat within the coach, holding the point of his sword to the breast of his prisoner, who was half dead with terror, and totally incapable of seconding the resistance of his friends. At the end of the street a chain

had been stretched—an ominous sight for public tranquillity. Nothing dismayed, Comminges bravely executed his mission. On the Quai des Orfèvres the coach broke down, one wheel having been shattered by an immense paving-stone. With yells of delight the mob rushed upon the coach, after a sharp fight with the soldiers, who were quickly overpowered. On the adjacent Pont-Neuf, however, troops mounted guard, and held the bridge. Comminges, stepping forward, shouted, 'À moi, mes compagnons; à moi!' Frantic appeals were meantime made to the prisoner to throw himself from the coach. The poor old man raised his white head deprecatingly, and made a gesture towards the strong hand of Comminges, which still grasped his doublet. A few moments of suspense elapsed. The queen's guard from the Pont-Neuf then came down upon the rioters, and with right good will drove them from the place and surrounded the prisoner. Madame d'Effiat at this inopportune moment appeared in her coach at the end of the street. Comminges thereupon ordered the coach to be seized for the queen's service; and Madame la Maréchale was, therefore, compelled to alight, and yield it for the transport of M. Broussel.

"The *cortège* then continued its route amid hootings and cries of rage. In the Rue St. Honoré the wheel of the carriage again broke. The line of march, however, was there kept by soldiers. Guitaut, captain of the Swiss guard, surmising that probably some such accident might occur, had provided another vehicle, which waited at the corner of the

street. A third start was then made. No further obstacle arresting the progress of Comminges and his prisoner, they halted at the Château de Madrid, in the Bois de Boulogne, where Broussel was offered refreshment, and provided with a cloak and shoes. The escort was increased to a hundred men, who conducted the prisoner to the château of St. Germain-en-Laye, which the queen had ordained to be Broussel's first resting-place, *en route* to the distant fortress of Sédan." *

Those amongst our readers who may have seen Paris during the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 will be able to form some conception of the state of irritation caused by the arrest of Broussel. Two hundred barricades were raised in a very short time, and even in the immediate neighbourhood of the Palais Royal one might be perceived, apparently setting at defiance the queen's authority. On the next day the whole Parliament in a body went to ask of Anne of Austria the release of the arrested members; and as they could obtain nothing but a flat refusal, they in their turn became the object of suspicion on the part of the infuriated mob. A tradesman, captain of the armed citizens, seized the president Molé by the arm, and, threatening him with a pistol, exclaimed, "Turn back, traitor, and if you don't wish to be massacred, you and your companions, bring back to us either Broussel or Mazarin as hostage." Several members of the deputation took to flight; Molé remained impassible. In vain

* Mrs. Freer's *Regency of Anne of Austria*, vol. i. pp. 201 203.

was he insulted, roughly handled, and even seized by his long beard. He spoke to the populace as quietly as if he had been sitting in court administering justice. "Suppose you kill me," said he, "I shall only require six feet of earth." The imposing way in which he faced the crowd, his calm and dignified appearance, cowed even the most violent. He returned to the hall of justice slowly, quietly, assailed on all sides by torrents of abuse and by the coarsest invectives.

The attitude assumed by the queen was not calculated to calm the general effervescence. Broussel had to be set at liberty, and, to quote the expression of Madame de Motteville, "Never did any king or Roman emperor enjoy more complete a triumph than that poor little man, whose only recommendation was his obstinate desire for the public good and his hatred of the taxes." * On the 24th of October, 1648, the very day when the peace of Westphalia was signed, Anne of Austria, by the *ordonnance* of St. Germain, granted all the demands made by the Paris Parliament, and the city became suddenly as quiet "as if it had been Good Friday." (§)

The only object Mazarin had in view was to gain time, and to strike a decisive blow as soon as he was free from the cares and anxieties connected with his foreign policy. The queen left Paris by stealth (January 6, 1649), retired to St. Germain, and forthwith issued a declaration ordering the Parliament to hold its sittings at Montargis. On the

* *Mémoires.*

next day Poissy, Pontoise, Lagny, Corbeil, and subsequently St. Denis and St. Cloud, were occupied by the royal troops, and measures were taken to starve the capital. It is only fair to say that the Paris Parliament met this movement with energy and promptness. The *prévôt des marchands* (mayor) was directed to provide for the safety of the metropolis; extraordinary taxes were raised for the vigorous prosecution of the war; Mazarin was ordered to leave the kingdom within the space of eight days, as disturber of the public peace and enemy of the Crown; and several provincial Parliaments (Reims, Tours, Poitiers, Normandy, Provence) readily followed the example set to them by their Paris *confrères*. One grand mistake committed by these local assemblies was to allow themselves to be deceived by a similarity of names, and to assume that they occupied in France exactly the same political position as that which the English Parliament held on the other side of the Channel. Another blunder, and a more serious one, was to accept the alliance of the nobles, who, exclusively prompted by selfish views, offered themselves to lead the Parisians against Mazarin. Some of the magistrates were probably inspired by truly patriotic views; not so the aristocracy, whose only anxiety was to bring back the times when they managed to keep the power of the Crown in check, and to sell to the king their services and their courage. The Prince de Conti, despicable-looking and deformed, was named generalissimo of an army which had

hardly any existence. He was brother of the *Grand Condé*, who, being asked by the coadjutor to join the rebels, proudly answered, "My name is Louis de Bourbon, and I will not shake the Crown." Under the rule of a minister who did not, like his predecessor Richelieu, send his adversaries to the scaffold, it was great fun playing at civil war. Thus thought the Dukes de Longueville, De la Rochefoucauld, De Montmorency, De Rochechouart, De Chevreuse. The Duchess de Longueville and the *Grande Mademoiselle*, daughter of Gaston, Duke d'Orléans, by their beauty and their wit added an element of piquancy to this assembly of *Frondeurs*. It is amusing to see how Cardinal de Retz puts himself forward as the moving spirit, the leading actor, in the deplorable episode we are now relating. "*I required a phantom which I might place before me*, and luckily that phantom happened to be the grandson of Henry-le-Grand. His language was the slang used in the market-place, and which we are not accustomed to hear from the lips of the children of Henry IV.; his hair was very long and very fair No one can imagine the weight of these circumstances, and the effect they produced upon the mob." From the Prince de Conti to the Duke de Beaufort it was, to use a common expression, *rather a come-down;* but not even De Retz could do impossibilities, and he had to put up with a man who, despite his undoubted courage, was remarkably destitute of intelligence, and therefore qualified to be used as a docile instrument, a tool in the hands of a clever intriguer.

Voltaire's narrative of the Paris rebellion is so picturesque that we must quote some extracts from it, making our reservation, at the same time, on the spirit which has suggested the *philosophe's* remarks.

"Every one taxed himself spontaneously for the purpose of raising troops. There were twenty councillors provided with offices created by Richelieu. In order to purchase the goodwill of their *confrères*, they had to pay individually 15,000 crowns towards the expenses of the war. The *Grand Chambre*, the *Enquêtes*, the *Requêtes*, the *Chambre des Comptes*, the *Cour des Aides*, who had protested against small and necessary taxes, contributed a sum of about 10,000,000 crowns for the subversion of the country. A decree of the Parliament ordered a levy of 12,000 men. Each carriage-entrance (*porte-cochère*) furnished a mounted soldier, and the cavalry thus got together was called *la cavalerie des portes-cochères*. The Coadjutor had a regiment which was designated the *régiment de Corinthe*, because De Retz was titular archbishop of that city. . . . No one knew why they were fighting. The Prince de Condé besieged 100,000 *bourgeois* at the head of 8000 soldiers. The Parisians sallied forth, bedizened with feathers and ribbons; their evolutions supplied materials for fun to real officers. Everything was made a joke. The *régiment de Corinthe* having been defeated by a small detachment, this check was called the *first to the Corinthians*. The twenty councillors who had each contributed 15,000 livres, enjoyed, in return, no

other honour but that of being nicknamed the *Quinze-vingts.**

"The Parisian troops, always beaten, were greeted on their return by hootings and peals of laughter. The various mishaps which they had to put up with were repaired only by songs and epigrams. The pot-houses (*cabarets*) served as tents for the holding of councils of war, amidst jokes, couplets, and evidences of the most dissolute gaiety. Finally, the Coadjutor was seen sitting in Parliament with a dagger in his pocket, and as the hilt of that weapon could be distinctly perceived, every one exclaimed, 'Here is our archbishop's breviary!'"

Respecting this amusing description, we would remark that it is not true to say, as Voltaire does, that the members of the Parliament wished for the *subversion of the country.* The conduct of Mathieu Molé and many others is a direct refutation of this charge, and although, as we have said before, the majority were led by views of ambition and of selfishness, yet the magistracy had certainly more patriotism than either the aristocracy or the mob. In fact, they proved so by being the first who submitted to Mazarin. Voltaire is equally wrong when he wants to make us believe that *no one knew what they were fighting for.* The case was distinctly the reverse, and the great blot on the resistance offered by so many Frenchmen to Mazarin's government

* The name of *Quinze-vingts* designates a hospital founded in Paris by Saint Louis about the year 1254, for the maintenance of *quinze* (*fois*) *vingt* (15 × 20) blind men.

was that selfishness lay at the bottom of it. As a matter of course, there was no unanimity of purpose, no continued effort, no man qualified to bring about the reforms which were absolutely necessary, and which by no means implied, as Voltaire would fain make us believe, *the subversion of the State.* The *Fronde* proved to be a perfect commentary on Horace's well-known line—

"Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus;"

but it was *ridiculous,* not from the causes which led to it, but from the results which it brought forth. The only serious affair in the whole of that early part of the rebellion was the engagement at Charenton, where nine regiments of the Parliamentarians were cut to pieces, and Clanleu, their commander, killed.

The spirit which animated the aristocracy is best illustrated by the fact that they had actually invoked the assistance of the King of Spain; and that, renewing the disgraceful schemes of the *Ligueurs,* they did not hesitate to call in foreign troops to the support of their own selfish desires. Anne of Austria and Mazarin at last saw the absolute necessity of making a few concessions. They understood, besides, that Turenne had gone over to the rebels, and they dreaded the prestige which his reputation was likely to exercise. The meetings of the various courts which constituted the Parliament were authorized, some taxes were suppressed, and the Treaty of Rueil (April, 1649), duly registered in spite of the furious

opposition of several determined *Frondeurs*, brought hostilities to a close for a very short space of time. The Parisians were heartily sick of a state of things which ruined trade and plunged the nation into an appalling depth of misery, and even Guy Patin, that bitter enemy of Mazarin, was obliged to acknowledge that peace "was good, useful, and advantageous."

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE FRONDE—*Continued.*

It will be better to finish at once all we have to say about the *Fronde*, although, as a matter of fact, the complications of foreign politics were simultaneous with the rebellion at home, and the war with Spain corresponded chronologically to the Paris disturbances.

The events described in the last chapter make up what is generally regarded as the *logical* or *rational* part of the *Fronde;* that is to say, the epoch when the revolutionary movement proceeded from a legitimate and thoroughly well-grounded aspiration after reforms in the administration of the State and a natural desire to guard against the abuses of arbitrary power. The Paris Parliament, by virtue of the Declaration of Rueil, had obtained at last what it had so long kept steadily in view, namely, the right of interfering in political questions, and especially in those bearing upon financial matters. It might be supposed that now a period of calm and of legality had begun for France, and that the era

of what may be called constitutional government was inaugurated. The contrary took place. Instead of exercising its influence as a governing power, the Parliament lost even the power of governing itself. Violent and timid in turns, it became, unconsciously perhaps, but really, the blind accomplice of the ambition of the aristocracy, and the multitude, thus delivered from all restraint, was enabled to indulge in the wildest excesses.

The leading actors in the new *Fronde* are as numerous as the unprincipled noblemen, the cunning diplomatists, the second-rate intriguers, whose only aim is the gratification of their caprices and of their pleasure. No longer is the struggle between the Crown and the Parliament; the dispute has become individualized, so to say. Who is to prevail? Condé or Mazarin? Condé or the Duke de Beaufort? Condé or the Coadjutor? It is now a fashion to be called a *Frondeur*, and the best, the only way to secure the affection of a lady is to declaim against Mazarin, and to fight against the royal troops. The position of a rebel is not, let us add, unattended with danger. Witness La Rochefoucauld, who, after writing the following couplet:—

"Pour mériter son cœur, pour plaire à ses beaux yeux (*Madame de Longueville*);
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois; je l'aurois faite aux Dieux;"

found himself compelled, by the fortunes of war, to alter it thus:—

"Pour ce cœur inconstant qu'enfin je connais mieux
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, j'en ai pardu les yeux."

The Duchess de Chevreuse and the Duchess de Longueville had transformed their respective *salons* into centres of intrigue. In the former the turbulent Abbé de Gondi reigned supreme, receiving encouragement of every kind. Madame de Longueville, all powerful with her brother, the Prince de Condé, urged him on in a direction where he was running the risk of compromising the reputation he had so brilliantly earned at Rocroy and at Lens.

Posterity has given the surname of *great* to a general who, at the time we are now describing, was a kind of spoilt child, petulant, obstinate, wayward, finding pleasure in annoying Mazarin, conspiring, he hardly knew why, without plan, without purpose, and merely for want of something better to do. Hardly had the Declaration of Rueil been signed, than Condé, who had till then protected the Government, aimed at humiliating it, and substituting for it his own personality. There was no insult which he did not direct against the prime minister. Taking leave of him one day, he said, "Adieu, Mars!" On another occasion, having to write to him, he addressed the letter, "All' illustrissimo signore Faquino." Finally, he carried his impertinence so far as to encourage a conceited young nobleman, the Marquis de Jarzé, to play the part formerly attempted by the Duke of Buckingham, and to *pose* as the queen's acknowledged lover. Anne of Austria felt most acutely this affront, but Mazarin cheered

her up, and dictated to her the very words she was to use when the ridiculous *inamorato* appeared at Court. The scene is amusingly described by Madame de Motteville:

"The queen might say, in the presence of many princesses and other persons, 'It would be very wrong of me to complain now of anything, provided as I am with so handsome an admirer as Jarzé. My only fear is that I shall lose him one of these days, for I cannot help his being locked up in a lunatic asylum; nor shall I have even the satisfaction of saying that he has become mad on my account, for every one knows that he has lost his mind long ago.'

"After this, the first time that Jarzé enters the room where the queen happens to be sitting (supposing he is impertinent enough to do so), her Majesty might say to him, laughing, 'Well, Monsieur de Jarzé, do you find me to your liking? I never contemplated having such a piece of good fortune. It must be a family failing with you, for that old idiot Lavardin was also the admirer of Queen Mary de Medici, and the Court then seemed to be as much delighted at his assiduities as they are now at yours.' Should he answer anything disrespectful or out of place, the queen might reply, 'If you were not known to be downright mad, I should have you thrown out of the window; but I merely command you to leave this room, and to place yourself at once under medical treatment.'"

Jarzé was only a specimen of the presumptuous

and empty-headed young men who, under the designation of *petits-maîtres*, composed the retinue of Prince de Condé, feeding his vanity and encouraging him in a course where the dangerous advice of the Duchess de Longueville and of Chavigny, who aspired to oust Mazarin, had already urged him. Not only had he exasperated a great portion of the nobility and deeply wounded the queen, but he had alienated the chiefs of the *Fronde*, and thus placed himself in a position of complete isolation. Mazarin had none of Condé's impetuosity; but he could afford to wait, and to conduct all his plans so carefully and so thoroughly that when the time for action arrived, success was absolutely certain.

It is curious to see the astute prime minister bringing over to his side the Duke d'Orléans, the Coadjutor himself, and the Duchess de Chevreuse. It was not without some difficulty that the Duke d'Orléans was induced to sanction the arrest of the Condé princes; but he consented at last, and on the 18th of January, 1650, the *coup d'état* came to a successful issue. "A sitting of the council had been called for that day. Already the members had arrived: the cardinal, Brienne, Chancellor Séguier, Servien, minister of state, and the Abbé de la Rivière were present. They were joined at last by the Prince de Condé, his brother, the Prince de Conti, and the Duke de Longueville. The cardinal took La Rivière into a neighbouring room, under the pretence of communicating to him an important piece of information. The passage through which they had to

go was full of soldiers. At this sight La Rivière turned pale, fancying that Mazarin wanted to have him arrested. He asked the cardinal, 'Is all that I see intended against me?' 'No; we are about to secure the princes,' was the reply.

"At the same time Mazarin sent word to the queen that all the members of the council had arrived, and that they awaited her final instructions. Anne of Austria gave the necessary orders to Guitaut, captain of her guards. She then took the young Louis XIV., to whom she had as yet communicated nothing of her resolution, and shut herself up with him in her oratory. She ordered the king to kneel down, informed him that the princes were about to be arrested, and directed him to pray to God for the success of an enterprise 'the issue of which she awaited with emotion and anxiety.'" *

"Instead of the queen, who was to appear in the council-room, Guitaut, captain of the guards, walked in, together with his nephew, Comminges, and Crécy, lieutenant in the same company. Approaching Condé, he announced to him that he had orders to arrest him, his brother, and his brother-in-law.

"Condé was so far from expecting this event, that at first he laughed at it. Seeing, however, that Guitaut was not joking, he said, addressing himself to the bystanders, 'Such is the reward of my services!' He requested the chancellor to go to the queen, and beg of her for him, Condé, a few

* Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires.*

minutes' conversation. The chancellor speedily returned, with the answer that the queen would be obeyed. Servien, whom the princes had sent to Mazarin with the same message, did not come back.

"Guitaut made the prisoners go down by a secret staircase, and conducted them to the garden-gate, where they found a carriage, escorted by the queen's body-guard. They stepped in, together with Guitaut, Comminges, and Crécy. Instead of driving towards the Porte St. Antoine, through the most populous part of the metropolis, they went to the Porte Richelieu, which stood then at the spot where now the Rue St. Marc crosses the Rue Richelieu. Miossens, who later on became Marshal d'Albret, was waiting there at the head of a detachment of the king's guards. The princes were directed to get into another carriage, and the journey to Vincennes began. The night had come, and the roads were very bad: the carriage broke down near St. Antoine-des-Champs.* The prisoners had to alight. It is reported that the Prince de Condé, whose old companion-in-arms Miossens was, said to him, 'Miossens, if you only would!' Miossens answered, 'I am the king's servant.' 'I don't ask anything,' said Condé, sharply. Arrived at Vincennes, the princes were locked up in a room, the aspect of which was gloomy in the extreme. It contained no furniture, and was surrounded by high walls. Having no sleeping accommodation, compelled to lie on the ground, they would have been reduced to spend

* Now Hospital of St. Antoine, in the *faubourg* of that name.

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the night without tasting any food, if Marshal Rantzau, who was imprisoned in the same place, had not sent them some bottles of wine, with which he was always well supplied, and the remains of his supper.

"The arrest of the princes was so cleverly managed that the persons of their household were still waiting for them in the courtyard of the Palais Royal when they were informed that their masters were at Vincennes. On their return to the Palais Royal, Miossens apprized the queen of the success of his expedition, in the presence of Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

"In the meanwhile, the Duke d'Orléans had summoned the Duke de Beaufort with the view of telling him the decision which had been adopted. As soon as he was sure of the arrest of the princes, he expressed his joy, saying, 'That's a capital stroke; they have taken at once a lion, an ape, and a fox.' He ordered Beaufort to get immediately on horseback and to ride through the streets of Paris, in order to spread the news of the event, and to stop the popular disturbances which might have broken out. This precaution was not useless; indeed, a few of Condé's supporters had endeavoured to persuade the mob that it was the Duke de Beaufort whom Mazarin had sent to prison. Henri de Montmorency-Boutteville, better known subsequently as Marshal de Luxembourg, rode along the Pont Neuf, giving out that false piece of intelligence. The people were already bestirring themselves, and throwing

stones, when the presence of the Duke de Beaufort put an end to the tumult. The anxiety was changed into joy; the mob, excited by the *Frondeurs* against the Prince de Condé, lit up bonfires everywhere." *

The result of this bold *coup d'état* was the rising of the whole nobility and a formidable agitation in the principal provinces. Normandy, Burgundy, and the central districts were kept in check by the presence of the royal troops; but Guienne offered greater resistance, excited by the promises of Spain and by the energy of the Princess de Condé, Clémence de Maillé, who endeavoured to stir up the inhabitants of Bordeaux against the authority of the queen.(§) At the other end of the kingdom, Turenne, with the help of the Spanish forces, had invaded Champagne, and was threatening to march upon Vincennes and set the princes at liberty. For greater security they were transferred to Havre, and the capitulation of Bordeaux (October 1,1651), followed (December 15) by the complete routing of Turenne's army at Rethel, so elated Mazarin that he thought himself now in a position to crush his enemies. The events proved that he had acted too precipitately. *Frondeurs* of every description, the Parliament, the nobility, and the mob, all joined against the execrated minister. The queen was asked officially to dismiss him, and to restore the princes to freedom; and although she answered peremptorily and firmly in the negative, Mazarin, anxious to avoid a collision, left Paris

* Chéruel, *Histoire de France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV.*, vol. iii. pp. 373-377.

under the pretext of complying with the wishes of the people, and of inviting to a conference Condé, Conti, and Longueville. He sought a refuge first at Sedan, and then at Bruhl, in the electorate of Cologne. At that distance from Paris he still virtually governed, and the correspondence he managed to keep up with the three secretaries of state, Servien, Le Tellier, and De Lionne, enabled him to direct Queen Anne of Austria in her administration of the State and the general conduct of affairs.

The position of Condé, meanwhile, was one of great difficulty, and in which he was beset by sore temptations. Everything encouraged him to persevere in his antagonism against the Crown, and to continue the civil war. His conscience might have given him wholesome advice, but his ambition knew no bounds. He could tolerate no equals; much less could he brook a master. Then, like an evil angel, the Duchess de Longueville, his favourite sister, was only too willing to encourage and foster the feelings of discontent which agitated his breast. On no account would she return to her justly offended husband, and, to say the truth, her own imprudence had forced her into the attitude of a rebel. Nor must the political situation of the country be forgotten—Mazarin hated, the queen attacked on all sides, the king too young yet to govern by himself, the parliaments and the aristocracy thoroughly disaffected, the people ready to run into every kind of excess. All ideas of

right and wrong seemed discarded, passion reigned supreme, and France, to a dispassionate observer, appeared on the very brink of destruction. As a matter of course, the foreign nations who wished ill to the *fleurs-de-lys* were glad enough at witnessing the probable downfall of a once-dangerous neighbour. Spain made to Condé pressing offers of substantial assistance; Cromwell thought that the complications of the *Fronde*, by distracting the attention of the Government from foreign affairs, would afford England an opportunity for establishing once more its position in France, and obtaining possession of Calais and some other seaport.

Condé left for Guienne, after having provided for the carrying-on of the war in the central provinces. Mazarin, who had returned to France (December, 1651), placed the command of the royal forces in the hands of the celebrated Turenne, now converted to a sense of loyalty. He had himself raised, at his own expense a body of eight thousand mercenaries, led by Marshal d'Hocquincourt, and, disregarding the threats of the Parliament and the decree issued against him as guilty of high treason, he joined the Court at Poitiers. In his warlike plans, the Prince de Condé had reckoned upon the co-operation of the Bouillon family and of his old brother-in-arms, Marshal Turenne. So far his hopes were frustrated, and the only assistance he received was from the Duke de Nemours, who brought eight thousand German auxiliaries to reinforce the army commanded by the Duke de Beaufort.

The first events connected with this new campaign were to take place on the banks of the Loire. The royal troops attempted to secure the possession of Orléans, but were forestalled by Mademoiselle, daughter of Gaston, who persuaded the citizens to close their gates against D'Hocquincourt's forces. Thus thwarted in their attempt, the royalists fell back upon Gien, where the queen established her residence, Turenne defending the approaches to the town, and D'Hocquincourt having fixed his head-quarters at Bléneau. It was believed that Condé was still in Guienne, and that no immediate danger need be apprehended from him, when suddenly the news spread that he had attacked and put to flight the battalions posted at Bléneau. Leaving to his brother, the Prince de Conti, the command of the troops in Guienne, together with Marsin as his adviser in war affairs, and Lenet to assist him in home transactions, he had taken with him, to serve as his escort during the perilous journey he purposed undertaking through France, a small number of faithful adherents, who travelled in disguise under false names. They were the Duke de la Rochefoucauld and his son, the Prince de Marsillac, Guitaut-Pech Peyrou, the Marquis de Lévis-Charlus, Chavagnac, Gourville, La Rochefoucauld's captain of the guards, and Condé's own *valet-de-chambre.* They started from Agen on the 25th of March, rode night and day, almost always on the same horses through Limousin and Auvergne, went over one hundred and twenty leagues (about three hundred

and twenty miles) with unheard-of rapidity, and crossed the Loire at Bec d'Allier, near La Charité. From thence Condé moved on to Châtillon-sur-Loing, and, after having escaped several ambushes laid by the royal forces against the army of the rebels, he arrived at Lorris, in Gâtinais, on the 1st of April. It was from that town that he made upon the troops of Marshal d'Hocquincourt at Bléneau (April 8) the unexpected attack just alluded to, and the results of which were not so decisive for Condé as was at first supposed. The scattered battalions retreated towards the main body of Gien, where Turenne occupied a strong position. "Now was seen," says M. Chéruel, "how far superior in prudence, coolness, and skill Turenne was to his adversary. He had drawn up his army behind a wood, which the enemy was obliged to cross in order to reach Gien. His artillery commanded the road, and effectually stopped the approach of the assailants. Condé acknowledged the impossibility of advancing, and, instead of following up the campaign of the Loire, begun by him with so much *éclat*, he resolved to push on towards the capital, and to make the most of his success in the way of strengthening his party and overcoming the hesitation of the Duke d'Orléans."* Turenne had only four thousand men to oppose to an army three times that number, but his presence of mind saved the queen and the Court. "But for Marshal Turenne," says Montglat, "the queen and the

* Chéruel, *Histoire de France sous le ministère de Mazarin*, vol. i. p. 161.

cardinal would have fallen into the power of their enemies. The plan was to lock up the queen in a convent, and despatch the cardinal; then, taking possession of the king, the rebels would have governed in his name as they pleased. The cardinal was, accordingly, very much perplexed. The queen, on the contrary, betrayed no fear. She was dressing her hair when she learnt the news, and remained fixed before her looking-glass, not forgetting to twist one of her curls. She then went to dinner, and ate with as good an appetite and as quietly as if nothing had been the matter." * And yet it was with tears in her eyes that she said to Turenne, "Monsieur le Maréchal, you have saved the State."

Another battle, fought near Étampes one month later, had proved disastrous to the *Frondeurs*. The two armies were getting near Paris. What course would the capital of France adopt? The Duke d'Orléans, acting in the name of the rebel princes, lacked energy indeed, and showed himself thoroughly unworthy of the important position he occupied; but his daughter, Mademoiselle de Montpensier, made up for this cowardice by her resolution, and she remains in history immortalized as the last of the heroines of the *Fronde*. We have had already to notice many an Amazon mixed up with the vicissitudes of the civil war; the remarkable figures of Madame de Chevreuse, Madame de Montbazon, Madame de Longueville have appeared before us in succession. The daughter of the weak Gaston closes

* Montglat, *Mémoires*.

this list in an appropriate manner. Accompanied by her two aides-de-camp, Mesdames de Fiesque and de Frontenac, she forms a conspicuous group in the background of this strange picture, and typifies admirably that mixture of heroism and of extravagance which characterized the regency of Anne of Austria. One would suppose that the leading personages of that distracted epoch had taken as their models the characters of *L'Astrée*, together with the personages of Corneille's tragedies: they move about the stage in an almost unnatural manner, and their sentiments, as well as their deeds, seem exaggerated. Mademoiselle de Montpensier (*la Grande Mademoiselle*) is pre-eminently the *Frondeuse*. Ambition was her leading principle, and in that respect she might be compared with Christina of Sweden and Henrietta Maria, the unfortunate Queen of England. She had dreamt of forming some high matrimonial alliance—the Emperor of Germany; and in default of him, the archduke, Governor of the Netherlands. Now she aspired to nothing short of the crown of France, and, as M. Michelet remarks,* she thought that the best way of marrying Louis XIV. was to defeat him. Once Mazarin expelled, and the government in the hands of the aristocracy, Condé could certainly not do less for his powerful ally than to place her on the throne. We shall see presently how she defeated her own purpose, and how the ambitious Mademoiselle, after having aimed at becoming the consort of the *Grand*

* *Histoire de France*, vol. xii. p. 247.

*Monarque*, was reduced to appear as the wife of Lauzun.

Whilst Condé, thus assisted and supported, was endeavouring to keep up amongst the people a feeling of dissatisfaction, which at that time amounted to very little else besides a desire to indulge their passions and their appetites, the Cardinal de Retz, equally hostile to Condé and Mazarin, remained shut up in his episcopal palace. The Parliament and the *bourgeoisie*, perceiving at last that they had been made the tools of a few ambitious and intriguing men and women, were endeavouring to find the way of re-establishing the royal authority and putting an end to the civil war.

Condé's soldiers, ten thousand in number, occupied the village of St. Cloud. The royal army, posted at St. Denis, was joined there by another force arriving from Lorraine, where it had been despatched against the Spaniards. Its commander was Marshal de la Ferté. Dreading to be hemmed in between these two armies, Condé left St. Cloud promptly, and marched towards the Bois de Boulogne, endeavouring to reach Charenton, and to take up a strong position at the confluence of the Seine and the Marne. Turenne, however, anticipating this movement, came up with the royal forces, stopped Condé's passage, and a desperate battle took place (July 2, 1652) in the Faubourg St. Antoine. Condé seemed lost; his brave companions were hopelessly slaughtered by his side. The king, the queen-

mother, and the cardinal, following from the heights of Charonne the vicissitudes of the fight, felt sure of victory. The Parisians were already dreaming of the return of the Court, when Mademoiselle, more warlike than her father, who had not left the Luxembourg, got on horseback, determined upon making a last effort. She went from street to street, ordering the mob to save the Prince de Condé, and, entering the Bastille, she directed the cannon of the old fortress to be fired upon the royal troops. At that same moment the populace compelled the *bourgeoisie* to throw open the gate of St. Antoine to Condé's army; and when La Ferté arrived, it was only to see the rebels safely encamped at Montrouge. Mademoiselle's conduct on this occasion was above all praise. "She had the satisfaction," says M. Sainte-Beuve, "not of having done an act of impetuosity, as at Orléans, but a deed of courage and of humanity; she blushed for her father at the prolonged indecision from which it had been necessary to rouse him. She endeavoured to extenuate his behaviour as much as she could, and to save him from the disgrace of not having mounted his horse immediately. She had courage for him as well as for herself." *

Mazarin is reported to have said, "Voilà un coup de canon qui a tué son mari," when he heard of Mademoiselle ordering the Bastille guns to be fired upon Turenne's forces; and all contemporary memoirs (Dubuisson-Aubenay, *Journal*) state in

* Sainte-Beuve, *Lundis*, vol. iii.

positive terms that there is no doubt whatever of the fact. We are bound to add, however, that, if we may believe Madame de Motteville, Mademoiselle tried to deny altogether her share in the transaction.

We have already said that the rebellion was virtually at an end. The report soon spread about that Monsieur, separating his interests from those of Condé, had come to terms with the Court. Questioned on that subject, Mademoiselle merely answered, "You know my father well; I won't answer for him." When she went and asked him if he had indeed received orders to leave the Luxembourg, and what she was to do under the circumstances, he coolly answered that he did not mean to meddle with her affairs, and that he disowned all that she had done in his name. "Don't you think," continued he, with that scornful and cowardly irony which was familiar to him—"don't you think that the St. Antoine affair has not been injurious to you at Court? You have been glad to act the character of a heroine; to hear people say that you were indeed the soul of our party, and that you had saved it twice. Come what may, you will derive consolation from the remembrance of the praises bestowed upon you." She replied with pride and dignity, "I think I have served you quite as well at the gate of St. Antoine as at Orléans. It is by your orders that I did those two actions so worthy of blame. If they were to be accomplished over again, I would not hesitate for a moment, feeling convinced that my duty obliged me.

. . . It is better to have done what I have done than to suffer for having done nothing. I don't know what it is to be a heroine: I am of such a birth that I could do nothing that was not great and exalted. People may call that by whatever name they please; for my part, I simply call it acting up to my own inclination, and going straight on before me. I am so born that I know of no other path." *

The engagement in the Faubourg St. Antoine (§) was followed by a most discreditable and dastardly act on the part of Condé. Two days had elapsed, and the Parisians were deliberating on the best course to be adopted. Confounding altogether their cause with that of the princes, would they sign a treaty of union with them, and assist them in their endeavours to get rid of Mazarin? Would they, on the contrary, come to terms with the Court, as some timidly recommended? The Duke d'Orléans and Condé left the hall where the discussion was going on, under the pretext of securing freedom of opinion; but they had no sooner departed, when an infuriated rabble, in which some of their officers might be seen, surrounded the Hôtel de Ville, threatening with death the *Mazarins*—that is to say, the persons suspected of favouring the cardinal. Shots were fired against the windows of the hall; the doors were forced open, and about fifty persons were massacred, amongst whom were two councillors of the Parliament. This was the final catastrophe. Several deputations of the *bourgeoisie* repaired to

* Sainte-Beuve, *Lundis*, vol. iii.

Compiègne, where the Court had moved, to negotiate the return of the king to Paris. They were favourably received, and, with the view of facilitating the arrangements, Mazarin retired to Stenay (August 19), so that his presence might not revive the irritation which still prevailed, even amongst those who were most anxious for peace. Then Cardinal de Retz, at the head of his clergy, presented himself at Court (September 9) to prove his loyalty; but it was only his hatred of Condé, not his patriotism, which dictated this step. Condescending with the Parisians, Louis XIV. showed himself, on the other hand, more and more exacting towards the rebel princes. He came to Mantes; then to Pontoise, where he summoned the Parliament; and finally he made his solemn entry into Paris on the 25th of October, amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the assembled multitude. He had attained his majority on the 7th of September, 1651, by virtue of the law which Charles V. had promulgated, and which declared that Kings of France might assume the responsibility of government at the age of thirteen.

A general decree of amnesty was issued, but several notorious exceptions could not but be made, of course. The Duke d'Orléans and *la Grande Mademoiselle* had to remain in a kind of banishment; the former at Blois, and the latter on her estates at St. Fargeau. The Duke de Rohan, the *roi des halles* (Beaufort), and several other noblemen, were sent into exile. The rebellious Parliament could

scarcely hope to escape. President Viole, De Thou, old Broussel, and about a score of others had to get out of the way. *Catiline*-Retz was seized in the apartments of the Louvre on the very first day that he called upon the queen-mother. Sent to Vincennes, and then to Nantes, he contrived to escape, and spent the remainder of his life in comparative obscurity, studying Cartesianism, paying his debts (they amounted to 1,100,000 écus = £160,000 of English money), and writing his brilliant but untrustworthy memoirs. He had been obliged to resign the see of Paris, and had received in exchange the Abbey of St. Denis (1664); it was there that he died in 1679. As for the Prince de Condé, he disgracefully appealed to Spain for help, and was not ashamed of bringing into his country the forces which he had defeated at Rocroy and at Lens. A short time before the return of the king to Paris, he made a last attempt against Turenne's army at the head of twenty thousand Spaniards, whom Charles IV., Duke of Lorraine, had marched into France. For a whole month he kept the Court besieged in the small village of Villeneuve-Saint-George. Foiled once more, he preferred expatriating himself to what he considered the disgrace of sending in his submission. A sentence of death was pronounced against him, and it was only after the signing of the Peace of the Pyrenees that he returned to his duty and to the path of honour which he had so long forsaken. The Prince de Conti and the Duchess de Longueville, masters of Bordeaux, were the last to yield,

but in the month of July, 1653, they capitulated. The Duchess de Longueville then endeavoured to atone for the scandals of her past life by extreme religious austerities, and attached herself to the Jansenists, who called her *the Mother of the Church.* She died in 1679, in the house of the Carmelite nuns of Paris. The Prince de Conti ended his political career in a less rigorous manner. He married Anne Martinozzi, one of Mazarin's nieces, and lived till the year 1666. Madame de Chevreuse died the same year as Madame de Longueville.

If we now endeavour to appreciate the results of the *Fronde*, the one that strikes us most is the establishment of that despotism which, rapidly gaining strength after Mazarin's return to power, led to the absolute suppression of all freedom in political, religious, and intellectual life, and found its exponent in the persecution of the Jansenists, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the triumph of Jesuitism. Louis XIV. had received a lesson which he never forgot. On re-entering Paris, he had issued, by virtue of his own authority (October 22, 1652), an edict expressly forbidding the *gentlemen of the Parliament* (*les gens du Parlement*) to meddle henceforth with the affairs of the State and the management of the finances. Having heard (1655) that the Parliament, notwithstanding the prohibition, had assembled spontaneously to consider several proposed laws with the view of remonstrating against then, he started from Vincennes, where he was hunting, and entering the *grande chambre* (some say with jack-boots on, and

a whip in his hand; but these details seem to have been added for the purpose of heightening the effect of the picture), he said, in a loud voice, "Gentlemen, there is no one but knows the misfortunes which your meetings have produced. I command you to discontinue those which have been begun in connection with my edicts. M. Senior President, I prohibit you from suffering these assemblies, and I look to it, gentlemen, that not one of you dare ask for them." *

Another and a more immediate result of the rebellion was the frightful spread of pauperism and the ruin of all the provinces. The heartrending descriptions which we find in contemporary memoirs, and in M. Feillet's interesting work, "*La misère au temps de la Fronde*," are well calculated to make us detest the selfishness of the French nobility, who, for the sake of satisfying their vanity and their caprices, did not hesitate to sacrifice the prosperity of the nation. The scenes related by the missionaries sent to the assistance of the starving population are perfectly appalling. Picardy, Champagne, Lorraine, were reduced to a complete state of desolation, and even the neighbourhood of Paris had had to suffer painfully from the horrors of civil war. "At Guise, Laon, La Fère, and other places, more than four thousand persons have perished in four months for want of help. It is deplorable to see the poor people, some covered with blotches, others visited with scarlet fever, and disfigured by abscesses. Bad

* Madame de Motteville, Montglat, *Mémoires*.

food is the cause of all this. There is nothing to eat but roots, decayed fruit, and bread made of bran, such as dogs themselves would scarcely touch. *Picardy.*—The misery has reached this extremity, that, having consumed the small amount of grain they could gather here and there, the inhabitants are reduced to share with the wolves the carcases of the dogs and of the horses. . . . In the village of Héry, near Guise, a man unearthed a dog which had been three days dead, to satisfy his hunger. The gentry (*la petite noblesse*), too, need help, having suffered quite as much as the others. Besides having no bread, no covering, and being compelled to lie on straw, they find themselves obliged to beg from door to door. And from whom could they expect to get any relief, as the equality of misery reigns everywhere? *Bazoches, Fismes, Laon.*—To all the woes just enumerated must be added the exactions committed by the soldiers appointed to collect the salt-tax. Is it not astonishing that people who have no bread to eat should be obliged to provide themselves with salt? For their only food now is frogs and snails. They are so swollen and so weak that they can hardly walk, much less work. *Neighbourhood of Paris.*—Some persons have been seen buried during the night in dung, like brute beasts, and coming out in the daytime to receive the heat of the sun; already covered and eaten up by worms, and dead before they know what it is to be dying. Fifty of these wretches have been brought to the Paris Hôtel Dieu; they were not able to survive more than two

or three days. They were so infected, that the bargemen who took them on board did so only on the most earnest entreaties of the clergy belonging to the seminary of St. Nicolas du Chardonnet, who gave them that charitable assistance."

The above is only a very slight specimen of horrors which swell page after page of official documents. We have given exclusively details referring to bad food, disease brought on by starvation, and cases of abject and irremediable poverty; but there are, besides, instances of wanton brutality which it would be impossible to relate. Thus, a husband and his wife scourged to death with thorns, whilst the bystanding soldiers bet which of the two will die first; a churchwarden mutilated and tortured till he consents to tell where he has hidden the sacred plate and ornaments belonging to his church.

This terrible state of things lasted up to the death of Mazarin, and it is in endeavouring to alleviate it that St. Vincent de Paul and his heroic coadjutors won the renown which has made their names household words throughout Christendom. The pecuniary aid they had at their disposal was little indeed, but they did what they could, and never hesitated to follow the path of duty and of charity.

The secular clergy cannot claim the honour of having initiated this crusade of self-sacrifice, if we may so call it, but they soon caught the fever of enthusiasm, and followed the noble example set by St. Vincent de Paul. If the first *Fronde* had been

the source of untold miseries, the second one produced still more disastrous results, and these results were felt especially in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital. Between Étampes and Pontoise the whole country was literally strewn with corpses. Étampes itself had undergone a terrible siege; the houses were destroyed, the streets impassable, the surrounding atmosphere charged with all the elements of disease and death. St. Vincent de Paul established in the midst of this focus of corruption a band of missionaries who had just returned from Picardy. Provision was made for feeding the poor, healing the sick, and burying the dead. The local clergy had been either carried off by illness or killed by the besiegers. The missionaries took their place, and did their work with an amount of heroism which was all the more creditable because the only reward they received was the approval of their conscience and the feeling that they were treading in the Master's steps. Death struck down five of these devoted men, besides several Sisters of Charity. The others went from Étampes to Lagny, to Athis, to Juvisy, doing what they could, but finding that the resources at their disposal were lamentably out of proportion with the assistance required. It was then that St. Vincent de Paul resolved upon applying to the Archbishop of Paris, and urging him to prompt and efficient action. The diocese was immediately divided into as many parts as there were religious communities ready to come to the help of

the parish priests. Sisters of Charity, Capuchin friars, Jesuits—all felt it an honour to join this army of Christian charity, and, notwithstanding the general distress to which the calamities of civil war had reduced the country, resources were found and assistance provided, both in money and in kind. We are told that, during the early time of the mission of St. Vincent de Paul, the necessary expenses amounted to 10,000 crowns a month (£4000); in six years they reached the sum of 368,000 livres; and, finally, when peace had been restored, the relief distributed came up to one million. Whilst relating briefly here the *rôle* played by St. Vincent de Paul as a Christian philanthropist, we must not forget that he took likewise a share in politics, although the character of a statesman was certainly the last he would have coveted. It was the good fortune of the missionary that he stood high above all party influence, and that he could not be suspected of either being an enthusiastic admirer of Mazarin, or a *Frondeur* like Cardinal de Retz. His opinion became all the more earnestly sought for, and it was the only sensible one which could be suggested. If, said he, the prime minister's policy could not justify a rebellion which, after all, simply arose from ambitious motives, Mazarin, on the other hand, should not prove an obstacle to peace. Let him, therefore, retire a second time, leave the kingdom, and thus remove every pretext which both the Parliament and the nobles might have for carrying

on the war. St. Vincent de Paul's advice was followed. On the 25th of October, Louis XIV. entered Paris; and Mazarin's power was greater than ever when, one year afterwards, he left Sedan for France, resuming a position in which he had, on the whole, done much good for France.

## CHAPTER V.

### END OF THE WAR WITH SPAIN—TREATY OF THE PYRENEES—DEATH OF CARDINAL MAZARIN.

It is with feelings of intense relief that we turn from the *plus quam civilia bella* of the *Fronde* to wars and battle-fields, where Frenchmen had to meet the standards of Spain, and armies which they had long been accustomed to defeat. It is true that the ill-advised Condé appears again leading the enemies of his country; but although his past reputation helps to prolong the contest, yet the end is evidently at hand. All the available forces which Mazarin can dispose of will be brought to bear upon the Spaniards, and it would seem as if the victor of Rocroy had lost some of his skill and his dash when he resolved to play the traitor's part.

The cardinal was determined to push the matter to extremities; and, with Turenne and La Ferté to command his troops, success was really only a question of time. Unfortunately, the dilapidated state of the finances prevented the raising of large forces, and it was with diminutive armies of fourteen or

fifteen thousand men that France had to meet the legions of Spain. The circumstances were critical. The French had been compelled to evacuate Catalonia and Piedmont, whilst in the north the frontiers of Flanders and Champagne were threatened. All the efforts of the enemy were concentrated in that direction. Dunkirk had been taken (September 16, 1653), and, with Condé as their leader, a march towards Paris was not only possible, but probable. Strange to say, however, rejoiced as they were to secure the services of so renowned an officer, they threw all sorts of difficulties in his way; and, to quote M. Chéruel's remarks, he was not only cramped by pecuniary exigencies, but thwarted by the ill-will of his allies. Count Fuensaldagne, who commanded in the Netherlands under the orders of the Archduke Leopold, was jealous of the authority of the French prince, and never ceased fettering him with obstacles during the whole of the campaign of 1653. He delayed, on the most futile pretexts, the beginning of the military operations; discussions on points of etiquette, arrangements for the respective duties of French and Spanish officers—all these trifles had to be settled, and settled beyond dispute. Leopold himself was no better disposed towards Condé than Fuensaldagne. His desire was to delay as much as possible a speedy conclusion of the war, and to keep civil strife alive in France. He would favour the princes, but never allow them a decisive advantage. It was through that system of policy that, in 1650, the Spaniards had hindered Turenne from going as

far as Vincennes, where he wanted to set at liberty Condé and Conti. Again, in 1652, they had penetrated as far as Chauny, only to inspire the Frenchmen with renewed ardour, and they had then retired, leaving Condé to wrestle with Turenne. This system of tactics had perfectly succeeded. Profiting by the civil disturbances, they had retaken Gravelines, Mardyck, Dunkirk, Barcelona, and Casale. If they allowed Condé to finish the war by a decisive blow, they would lose all their influence, and find themselves perhaps driven out of France by allies no longer requiring their assistance.*

We thus see that serious divisions existed in the camp of the Spaniards. They rendered it impossible for Condé to assemble his troops before the month of August. By that time Mazarin had obtained the submission of Guienne; Bordeaux had capitulated; the Prince de Conti was reconciled with the cardinal; and all the forces, till then employed in quelling the rebellion in the southern provinces, could be despatched to strengthen Turenne's small army. The favourable occasion for invading France was then gone.

In 1653, Condé ravaged Picardy, took the insignificant village of Roye; then, stopped by Turenne's progress, moved suddenly towards Rocroy, of which he also gained possession, whilst his opponent made himself master of Mouzon and St. Menehould. It is in the course of this campaign that Louis XIV., then fifteen years old, took for the first time an

* Chéruel, vol. ii. pp. 90, 91.

important and serious part in military operations. Turenne and La Ferté were encamped at Ribemont, in a strong position; to that spot Mazarin conducted the young king. "Louis XIV. was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the troops, consisting of eighteen battalions of infantry, and one hundred squadrons of cavalry, all old soldiers, and inured to the fatigues of war. Turenne wished to give the king the sight of a skirmish. He had opposite to him the Spaniards, encamped at Fonsomme, and between the two armies was the Oise. He crossed that river with part of his cavalry, charged the vanguard of the enemy, and routed them completely.

"After having dined and supped at the marshal's head-quarters, with the principal officers of the army, Louis XIV. wished to spend the night in the camp. He remained there till the 29th of July, taking part in all the military exercises, and assisting at the councils of war when the plan of the campaign was discussed." *

In 1654, Turenne besieged Stenay, a town of some importance, well fortified, and which had been a kind of place of refuge for the *Frondeurs*. With the view of making a diversion, Condé threatened Arras, but was completely defeated (August 27). He managed, however, to cross the river Scarpe, and retired in good order towards Cambray, abandoning his artillery, consisting of sixty-three pieces of cannon, his baggage, and three thousand prisoners.

The following year was marked by the steady

* Chéruel, *ubi supra*, p. 102.

success of the French troops, displayed in the taking of Landrecies (June 18, 1655), Condé (August 18), and St. Guillain (August 26). The prime minister imitated or renewed the policy of Cardinal Richelieu, by seeking the alliance of one of the most powerful amongst the Protestant sovereigns in Europe. France had obtained decided advantages, both in the north and in the south. The Lorraine adherents of Spain, renouncing their fealty, were now subjects of Louis XIV.; in Spain and in Italy matters were proceeding satisfactorily; but there still remained three cities to be wrested from the enemy, namely, Gravelines, Mardyck, and Dunkirk, most important by their positions, and which might be regarded as the keys of France on the northern frontier. Now, the success of such an enterprise depended almost entirely on the help given by one of the maritime powers, Holland or England. In the first instance, Mazarin applied to William II., stadtholder of the former republic; but the negotiations which had actually been commenced between the Prince of Orange and the Count d'Estrades, representing France, were brought to an abrupt conclusion by the death of the Prince of Orange. There was no power which might be applied to now but England, no assistance to be obtained except from the head-quarters of heresy. We have seen that, whilst destroying at home the Huguenots as a political party, Richelieu had felt no scruple in taking as his allies Gustavus Adolphus and the Lutherans of Germany. Mazarin was certainly not more overburdened with qualms of con-

science than his predecessor. "The governing minister of France," says Carlyle, "is full of compliance for the Lord Protector, whom, both for the sake of France and for the cardinal's sake, it is very requisite to keep in good humour. On France's score, there is treaty with France, and war with its enemy, Spain; on the cardinal's are obscure Court intrigues, queen-mothers, and one knows not what. In brief, the subtle cardinal has found, after trial of the opposite course too, that friendship, or even at times obedient servantship, to Cromwell will be essentially advantageous to him." And, to make the scandal greater, the person whose help he felt anxious to secure was not only a Protestant, but a usurper, the murderer of his lawful sovereign, the embodiment of the principle of rebellion. It is curious to see what influence Cromwell enjoyed in Europe at that time. Spain had hastened to acknowledge him officially, and was represented in London by Don Alonzo de Cardeñas. Condé himself had endeavoured to obtain assistance from England through his two agents, Barrière and Cognac. The Protector did not feel anxious to come to any resolution at once. In the first place, he was naturally proud at seeing his alliance courted by the most powerful States in Europe, and his vanity was flattered by the anxiety of so many rivals contending for his favour, and making the success of their designs depending upon his goodwill. But, further, as M. Chéruel very aptly remarks, "Cromwell saw that an alliance, whatever it might be, would lead

him, as a matter of course, into foreign wars. Now, he wished, before all, to strengthen his authority in England; to complete the submission of the Irish and of the Scots; to put an end to the royalist conspiracies; and to make his rule accepted by the Parliament, despite their feeling of independence, both in religious and political matters." *

Mazarin was entirely deceived in his estimate of the Protector. Expecting to have to confront a mere blunt military adventurer, the compound of a Puritan fanatic and of a soldier, he found himself obliged to deal with a consummate politician, capable of surpassing in craft and duplicity the most astute and experienced diplomatists. Writing to d'Avaugour, who then was ambassador for France at the Court of Sweden, he says, "The Protector's behaviour is so concealed and so involved (*si pleine de replis*), that we cannot, I think, expect anything certain before the signature of the treaty." It is not necessary to enter into the details of the negotiations between Mazarin and the English Government, negotiations which were more than once in danger of being broken up. Suffice it to say that a treaty of commerce was at last signed at Westminster on the 3rd of November, 1655; and Mazarin, now having no more to fear from the acts of piracy and the inroads of the English at the French seaports, could devote all his energies to the subduing of the Spaniards and their final expulsion from the kingdom. By a secret clause, Cromwell bound himself to expel

* Chéruel, vol. ii. p. 351.

at once Marsin, Lenet, Pierre de Cugnac, Mazerolles, Trancart, Blaru, and all Condé's emissaries; whilst Mazarin promised to treat in the same manner all the Stuarts and their adherents. Fortunately for him, this clause met with no difficulty, for he had, several months before, compelled Charles II. to retire to Cologne, and he had sent the Duke of York to serve in the army of the Duke of Modena. The Treaty of Westminster was the death-blow to the Spaniards. Whilst the English took possession of Jamaica, and burnt the galleons of Cadiz, the city of Dunkirk, which was the key to Flanders, had to stand a siege by sea and by land. At the head of fifteen thousand men, Turenne arrived before the town on the 28th of May, and quickly carried the outworks. As the English fleet was blockading the place, the Spaniards could not introduce a single soldier into it to strengthen the garrison. Don Juan of Austria then urged Condé to try once more the success of a battle, and on the 12th of June the advanced guard of the enemy appeared in sight. A cannon-ball killed on that very same day Marshal d'Hocquincourt, who had deserted the royal cause out of sheer spite, and under the influence of Madame de Montbazon and Madame de Châtillon. Turenne was resolved to take the offensive. Leaving behind him only a sufficient number of soldiers to protect the trenches, he boldly offered battle to the Spaniards on the downs which line the coast. Don Juan of Austria, so eager to fight, was far from ready. He had no artillery, and had not provided for the en-

trenching of his army in case of defeat. These blunders could not escape Condé's notice. Turning to the Duke of Gloucester, who, like the Duke of York, was serving in the Spanish army, he said, "You have never seen a battle? Well, in half an hour we shall show you how one is lost." He certainly did all that could be done to prevent the realization of this prediction; but Cromwell's troops, supported by the fire of the frigates, routed the wing commanded by Don Juan and by the Marquis of Caracena, and Condé had to give way before a vigorous charge directed by Turenne in person. He was nearly taken prisoner. The Spaniards lost between four and five thousand men killed or wounded, and, in the state to which they were reduced, this was most serious. Dunkirk capitulated on the 23rd of June; and Louis XIV., arriving at the camp on the 25th, saw the enemy's garrison march out, but experienced the humiliating grief of delivering over the city, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Westminster, to the English general, Lockhart. This was distressing enough, and might even have been fatal to France if Cromwell had been preserved for a longer space of time to rule over the destinies of England.

In the meanwhile, Turenne, pursuing the glorious course of his successes, took in a few days (June 28–July 4) Berg-sur-Winox, Furnes, Dixmude. After a month's siege, Gravelines was carried, in spite of its strong fortifications (August 30). Oudenarde, Ypres, Comines, opened their gates to the French;

and Vauban, who was just beginning to make himself known as a military engineer, contributed powerfully by his talent to the success of the campaign. Already Brabant was invaded, and troops of French cavalry advanced within a few leagues of Brussels. Ghent and Bruges seemed threatened likewise, and terror was spreading amongst the inhabitants of these three important cities. Don Juan of Austria was advancing with all possible haste to protect the last bulwarks of Spain in the Netherlands; but Turenne had no intention of pushing on his operations at so late a period in the year, and he was reserving himself for the following spring, when the death of the Protector (September 13), altering completely the state of affairs, came most opportunely to deliver Louis XIV. from a dangerous ally.

If the fortunes of war, by crushing the power of Spain on the battle-field, had singularly facilitated the establishment of a general and permanent peace, the diplomatic victory gained by Mazarin in Germany was not less helpful towards bringing about so happy a consummation.

For the last three or four years, the Emperor Ferdinand III., contrary to the express stipulations of the Treaty of Westphalia, was in the habit of sending German troops to the assistance of Spain, either in the Netherlands or in the Milanese. His most Catholic Majesty had at that time no male offspring, and Ferdinand, in return for his services, asked the hand of the Infanta Maria Theresa for his son, the Archduke Leopold-Ignace. It will be

immediately seen that the result of the alliance would have been to build up again the colossal empire of Charles V. The German princes did not suspect at first the whole extent of Ferdinand's scheme, but still they could not but feel anxious when they saw the solemn stipulations of Münster daily sat at defiance, and the peace of the empire threatened by the emperor's ambition. In order to counteract the plans, several of the German princes, both Protestants as well as Catholics, had, between 1651 and 1656, placed themselves under the protection of France, with the view of maintaining the independence of Germany against the grasping policy of Austria. The death of Ferdinand, in the meanwhile (April 2, 1657), rendered a fresh election necessary, and the imperial Diet had to select from amongst several candidates. It has been said that Marshal Gramont, sent as ambassador to Frankfort, was instructed to lay before the electoral college the pretended claims of Louis XIV. This is a mistake. Mazarin's idea, as it previously had been that of Henry IV. and Richelieu, was to place the imperial crown on the head of the King of Bavaria; but the young successor of Maximilian the Great declined that perilous honour, and the election of Leopold-Ignace was carried. The only thing which Cardinal Mazarin could do now was to bind distinctly and strictly the new emperor to observe the clauses of the Treaty of Westphalia, and, the engagement having been signed on the 18th of July, 1658, the coronation took place in the course of the fortnight.

The Spaniards fondly hoped that France would obtain no substantial advantage from this concession on the part of the emperor, and their ambassador, Peñaranda, boasted openly that Louis XIV. had gained only a "paper triumph." Lionne, however, who conducted with the utmost skill the negotiations on the part of Mazarin, entered upon a new agreement with the German princes, thus organizing a league which, under the name of *Union of the Rhine*, would keep the emperor in check, see that the clauses of the Treaty of Westphalia were scrupulously observed, and prevent Leopold from assisting the King of Spain against his most Christian Majesty. This formidable union, made independently of religious views, was to be upheld by an army to which all the confederates furnished a contingent. Its duration was, in the first instance, limited to three years; but in 1660 it was renewed on a wider basis. Sweden, Hesse, Brunswick, the Electors of Cologne, Mentz, Trèves, and even Bavaria, had given their adhesion to it.

The marriage of Louis XIV. with the Infanta Maria Theresa, contemplated and resolved upon by the wily cardinal for the space of fifteen years, was one of the most important guarantees of the Union of the Rhine. By bringing into the closest union Spain and France, it would virtually cripple the power of the emperor, leave him isolated in Europe, and perhaps, at no distant period, give the crown of Spain to the House of Bourbon.

There is throughout this period of the reign of

Louis XIV. an episode which we must mention, if ever so briefly, because it very nearly upset the well-digested plans of the cardinal, besides having been interpreted in the most unfavourable manner against him by some historians. We allude to the violent passion which the young king entertained for one of Mazarin's nieces, Marie Mancini. It has been asserted that in the very beginning the prime minister was disposed to encourage it, and that for some time he allowed himself to be dazzled by the prospect of seeing one of his nearest relatives Queen of France. M. Chéruel, after having carefully weighed all the evidence on both sides, comes to the conclusion that such a supposition is destitute of any foundation whatever. "This episode," he says, "coming as it does between two of the most important negotiations in the whole history of France, ended honourably for three at least of the persons connected with it. After a long struggle, the king sacrificed his passion to his duty. The queen-mother triumphed over her son's weakness in the interest of his glory. The cardinal, even on the supposition that he thought for an instant of the crown on behalf of his niece (which I do not believe), made his ambition yield to the greatness of France." * As for Marie Mancini, she is decidedly the least interesting personage in the whole affair, and the history of her life is a most melancholy one—a page to add to the long list of those which contain the

* *Histoire de France sous le Ministère de Mazarin*, vol. iii. p. 245.

record of high qualities wasted, and of passions allowed unbridled sway.

The negotiations for the Peace of the Pyrenees, begun at the conclusion of the year 1658, were continued during 1659, at first between the secretaries of state, Don Antonio Pimentelli (Spain) and Hugues de Lionne (France). The two ministers, Don Luis de Haro and Mazarin, then met in the "island of the pheasants," situated on the river Bidassoa, at equal distance from both countries. The conference lasted from August 13 to the middle of November, when the signatures were exchanged; and if the delay was long, it arose from the determination which the Court of Spain had made at the very first to obtain favourable conditions for the Prince de Condé, his friends, and his adherents. Already, in 1656, this particular incident had prevented the negotiations between France and Spain from coming to a successful issue. Condé wanted nothing less than restoration to all his former governments and offices, and this Mazarin flatly refused, insisting that the towns of Rocroy, Catelet, and Clinchamps, where Condé maintained garrisons, should be delivered over to the king, and that the prince should be satisfied with receiving back again his private property. In 1659, Don Luis de Haro once more pressed the point on behalf of Condé, saying that the honour of the King of Spain was at stake. After several interviews, where Mazarin and Haro gave proof of great diplomatic *finesse*, it was finally settled that Condé should be again appointed

to the government of Burgundy; his son, the Duke d'Enghien, being created, at the same time, grand master of the king's household. Spain was to transfer Avesnes (regarded as one of the most important fortresses in Hainaut) to France; further, it was to deliver Juliers into the hands of the Duke de Neuburg, one of France's allies in Germany. Louis XIV. obtained, besides, Roussillon, Cerdagne, and Artois against a few isolated places in Catalonia, Franche Comté, and the Netherlands, which were delivered over to Philip IV.

We shall borrow from the memoirs of the Marquis de Montglat an account of the proceedings which took place immediately before the marriage. The narrative is an amusing one, and will serve to give an idea of one of the most valuable autobiographies of the seventeenth century.

"The French Court had spent the winter in Languedoc. During the spring of 1660, Louis XIV. and his mother travelled towards the Pyrenees. At the beginning of May they entered Bayonne, and from thence they started for St. Jean de Luz, whilst the King of Spain went to Fontarabia. The marriage ceremony was celebrated by procuration in the church of that town, the bride and bridegroom not having yet seen each other. It was Don Luis de Haro whom Louis XIV. honoured by delegating to him his procuration. On the next day, June 4, the queen-mother, Anne of Austria, anxious to see her brother, the king, in private, started from St. Jean de Luz to go to the island of the conference.

The King of Spain thereupon embarked in a galiot painted, gilt, and glazed, followed by a number of others very smartly decked out. He went from Fontarabia to the island, on the shores of which was an innumerable crowd of spectators belonging to both nations. The queen-mother had with her Monsieur (the king's younger brother) and Cardinal Mazarin; the King of Spain was accompanied by the queen, his daughter, and Don Luis de Haro. The queen-mother, who had come to France at a very early age, had so thoroughly taken the habits of our country as to forget entirely those of Spain, and, delighted at seeing her brother after an absence of forty-five years, she opened her arms *à la française* to embrace him. He, however, held himself bolt upright, with Spanish gravity and a coldness at which the queen was very much surprised; and he saluted her after the fashion of his country, without kissing her, but pressing both her arms with his hands. They then sat down, and conversed together for the space of two hours, he still retaining his serious demeanour, but using words which showed his tenderness and affection for her. When they were on the point of parting, they introduced to each other the principal persons of their respective retinues, and amongst the French the king saluted him *pêle-mêle* with the others, not being recognized by him; but when they had all left, the king remained in the room, leaning with his back against the door. This kind of freedom led the King of Spain to suppose that this person might be

Louis XIV., more especially as the queen asked the infanta, her daughter-in-law, what she thought of the young *gentilhomme* who was standing against the door. The only answer which the infanta made was by blushing deeply; and the king, her father, replied, in her place, that she would express her opinion when she had passed on. In the evening, the two Courts parted, and the King of France, on horseback, took up his position near the water-side, to watch the King of Spain as he went by. This monarch, recognizing Louis XIV., took off his hat and made a very low obeisance, which was contrary to his custom; for he never raised his hat for anybody, and remained so immovable in his gravity that he might have been taken for a statue rather than a living man. During the evening both monarchs withdrew, but on the next day they returned to the island. Then the King of France no longer concealed himself, but appeared in his own real quality. He embraced the King of Spain, and exchanged with him protestations of perpetual union and inviolable friendship. They then sat down, and the treaty of peace was read out aloud, which they swore on the holy Gospels to keep religiously. On the 9th of June, Louis XIV. renewed personally the ceremony of his marriage in the cathedral church of Bayonne."

The Treaty of the Pyrenees has been variously appreciated, and, despite the undoubted advantages it secured for France, it found in French writers severe critics. St. Évremond was the first to

propose objections, and his letter, conceived in a tone of the bitterest irony, obliged him, for fear of being imprisoned in the Bastille, to flee to England, where he spent the last five and thirty years of his life. To understand St. Évremond's attitude towards the cardinal, we must remember that he was a *Frondeur*—the wittiest amongst them—and that he had already found his way to the redoubtable Paris fortress before the Treaty of the Pyrenees gave him a fresh occasion to display the pungency of his wit and the brilliant qualities of his style. A friend of the Duc de Candale, of the Commandeur de Souvré, of Ninon de Lenclos, and of the other epicurean freethinkers of the day, St. Évremond, after having sided with Condé, would nevertheless have accepted some suitable post under Government; but, imagining that the cardinal did not treat him as he fancied he deserved, he joined the opposition out of spite. His *Lettre sur la paix des Pyrénées* is from beginning to end an attempt to turn into ridicule all Mazarin's actions. The writer endeavours to prove that the complete annihilation of Spain would have been the easiest thing possible. If the cardinal abstained from making use of his advantages, it was from motives of Christian charity; a devoted pillar of the Church is bound to spare his enemies.*

It is hardly worth while reproducing from other critics St. Évremond's motive of accusation against

* On all this, see M. Chéruel, *ubi supra*, vol. iii. pp. 255, and following.

the cardinal, nor is it necessary to give here the elaborate refutation opposed by M. Chéruel to such absurd strictures. Suffice it to say that the utter state of exhaustion to which France was reduced in 1659 would have rendered the prolongation of the war quite impossible. From the Pyrenees to the frontiers of Lorraine, from the Alps and the Rhine to the Atlantic, cries of the most appalling distress reached the throne, and in every church the pulpit resounded with earnest appeals to the king and the queen-mother for the cessation of hostilities. A twenty-five years' war had necessarily led to an enormous increase in the taxation. Popular risings had occurred in Normandy, Anjou, Poitou, and Sologne, and the best answer to St. Évremond's criticisms was to be found in the general misery, especially of the rural population. Extreme prejudice alone can condemn the Treaty of the Pyrenees, and M. Michelet, in regarding the war of the Spanish succession as one of its consequences,* forgets that the ambition of Louis XIV. alone, his policy founded upon violence, and his thirst for conquest brought about the disasters which marked the last sixteen years of his reign. The diplomatic prudence of the minister stands in the strongest contrast to the errors of the *Grand Monarque*. M. Chéruel terminates his detailed notice of the Peace of the Pyrenees by a quotation from Bossuet, which we shall translate here. Preaching in the chapel of the missions of the Place Royale in Paris, he said, "I know how

* *Histoire de France*, xii.

cautious preachers should be on the subject of praises; but were I to be silent on this occasion, instead of being congratulated on my reserve, I might incur the accusation of being jealous of the public happiness. . . . Nations, rejoice; and if there is still remaining some cursed trace of past malignity, let it fall to-day before these altars, and let us celebrate loudly the wise minister who shows beyond a doubt, by giving to us this peace, that he considers the good of the State as his own interest, and that he makes his glory consist in the repose of the people. I covet no favour; I do not pay my court in the pulpit (God forbid!). I am a Frenchman and a Christian. I feel my share in the common happiness, and I open my heart in the presence of God on the subject of this thrice-blessed peace."

This was the last important public act of Cardinal Mazarin. His health had for some time been giving way, and although he had not yet reached his sixtieth year, he was a martyr to gout and other diseases. On the return of the Court to Paris in August, 1660, he did not seek an opportunity for enjoying the rest he so richly deserved; on the contrary, he seemed to take a greater interest than ever in public business. He was unusually active, and he applied himself with all his might to the renewal of the diplomatic relations between France and England, taking care, at the same time, that the strict observance of the Treaties of Westphalia and of the Pyrenees should bring security to the various European states, and inaugurate an era of international prosperity.

But, utterly exhausted at last, the minister took up his abode in the Louvre, seeking a relief to the intense physical sufferings he endured in the dramatic performances of Molière's company of actors. The journalist Loret tells us (*Muze historique*, October 30, 1860) that—

"De Monsieur la troupe comique
Eut, l'autre jour, bonne pratique,
Car Monseigneur le cardinal,
Qui s'étoit un peu trouvé mal,
Durant un meilleur intervalle,
Les fit venir, non dans sa salle,
Mais dans sa chambre justement,
Pour avoir le contentement
De voir, non pas deux tragédies,
Mais deux plaizantes comédies,
Savoir celle de *L'Étourdy*,*
Qui m'a, plusieurs fois, esbaudy,
Et le Marquis de *Mascarille*. . . ."†

The actors received a gratuity of a thousand crowns.

In 1661, the gout degenerated into a pulmonary complaint. Mazarin was then in Paris, and the doctors told him that his days were numbered. An amusing anecdote is recorded of him then, which does not bear sufficient marks of authenticity, but which is extremely characteristic of a man whose avarice was notorious. His palace, built and furnished with the greatest luxury, was full of pictures, statues, tapestry, jewellery, and other articles of

* One of Molière's earliest comedies, brought out for the first time at Lyons in 1655.

† One of the characters in Molière's *Précieuses ridicules*, performed for the first time at Paris in 1659.

*vertu* of the most costly description. One day the cardinal, shortly before his death, wished to take leave of all these treasures, and wandered in the galleries where they were preserved. "I heard him come," says our authority, "by the noise of his slippers, which he dragged along as a man in a most languishing condition, and who is just recovering from a dangerous illness. I concealed myself, and heard him say, 'I must leave all this.' He stopped at every step, for he was extremely weak, and kept leaning sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on the other, and, casting his eyes on the object which attracted his sight, he exclaimed from the bottom of his heart, 'I must leave all this!' Then, turning round, he continued, "and that too! What a trouble I have had to bring all these things together! Can I abandon them without regret?' I shall not see them any more in the place whither I am going.' I heard all these words most distinctly, and they touched me more, perhaps, than they did him, for I do not know whether he was conscious of his own state."

The scene is a picturesque one, and also its repulsive description of the avarice of a dying man; but when we inform our readers that it was sketched in a *lunatic asylum* (the convent of St. Lazare), they may well be justified in entertaining, as we do, some doubts respecting its accuracy. The author, Henri Louis de Loménie, Count de Brienne, filled his memoirs with the most extravagant anecdotes about both Richelieu and Mazarin, and if we have given

the above extract from them, it is simply to show what the general opinion was about the cardinal's insatiable greed. As a matter of fact, he spent the last few days of his life in giving Louis XIV. the most valuable instructions on the best way of governing his kingdom, the state of affairs both at home and abroad, the difficulties to be guarded against, and the precautions to be taken in case fresh attempts should be made by the Parliament or the aristocracy to cripple or destroy the royal authority. As to the members of the council of state who had then a share in the public service, two were particularly mentioned, viz. Michel le Tellier and De Lionne, as deserving the king's fullest confidence; Fouquet was extremely able, but, on the other hand, deplorably unscrupulous, and should be the object of the closest surveillance; as for Colbert, no one was more capable of managing the finances, and it is even stated that Mazarin said to Louis XIV., "Sire, I owe you all, but I believe that I have acquitted myself towards you in giving you Colbert."

Mazarin had never been remarkable for his religious scruples, and, absorbed as he was by pressing political duties, he gave but little time to the ceremonies of the Church. As, however, his last moments approached, he called for a priest, Claude Joly, to prepare him for the terrible event. He was then at Vincennes. Joly came immediately. "You see," said Mazarin to him, "a man who is suffering much. God alone can place me in a state of salvation. Pray to Him for me, and may the pains which

He sends me be useful to me!" Mazarin received the extreme unction on the 7th of March, and breathed his last on the 9th. Madame de Motteville says of him, that "he contemplated death with firmness." Daniel de Cosnac, Bishop of Valence, who was present at the time, adds, "After having performed in a Christian manner his duties towards God, he did that last action as any other action in his life—that is to say, as a true philosopher to whom death is indifferent, and who watches himself dying as a spectator of his own decease." * Buried first in the chapel of the Castle of Vincennes, the body was subsequently transferred to the tomb erected in the chapel of the *Collége des Quatre Nations* (now Palace of the Institute in Paris). At the time of the Revolution, the sepulchre, like so many others, was violated; but the tomb, one of the masterpieces of Coysevox, was taken to the Louvre, where it is still. Mazarin left behind him an immense fortune —twenty-eight millions of francs, according to the general opinion, together with his palace, furniture, etc. Eight nieces, who have in various manners obtained a certain amount of notoriety in the history of the seventeenth century, divided between themselves riches, the origin of which will not bear very severe scrutiny. We shall give their names, with a few remarks. Laura Mancini (1636–1657), married (1651) the Duke de Mercœur. Maria Mancini (1640–1715) never could bring herself to forget Louis XIV., even after her marriage with Prince Colonna, Con-

* *Mémoires de Daniel de Cosnac*, vol. i. p. 289.

stable of Naples (1661). She left her husband, returned to France, where she vainly attempted to get once more access to Court; then travelled in the Netherlands; and finally died in a convent at Madrid. Maria Anne Mancini (1646–1714), wife of Godefroy de la Tour, Duke de Bouillon (1662). Compromised in the famous poisoning cases during the reign of Louis XIV., she was for a short time banished from the Court of Versailles. La Fontaine, whose protectress and friend she was, inscribed to her several of his fables. Hortense Mancini (1646–1699), married (1661) the Marquis de la Meilleraye, forsook him in 1666, and led a notoriously disgraceful life, chiefly in England, on a pension allowed her by Charles II. and James II. Olympe Mancini (1640–1708), Countess de Soissons, and mother of the celebrated Prince Eugène of Savoy. She was exiled for the share she took in an intrigue against Madame de La Vallière, and found herself, like her sister, Maria Anne, very unjustly implicated in what has been called *l'affaire des poisons*. She spent the last years of her life at Brussels. Anne Maria Martinozzi and Laure Martinozzi were the daughters of another sister of Cardinal Mazarin. The former married the Prince de Conti, and, after leading a rather gay life, became, as well as her husband, converted under the influence of the Port Royal Jansenists; died in 1672. The latter, Duchess of Modena, and regent after the death of her husband (1662), seems to have been remarkable by her firmness, her kindness, and the dignity of her character.

Her daughter, Beatrix, became the wife of James II., king of England. She died in 1687. Besides these eight nieces, the cardinal had three nephews: Paul Mancini, killed in the battle of the Faubourg St. Antoine; Alphonse, who died very young; and Philippe, to whom his uncle bequeathed the Duchy of Nevers.*

* On Mazarin's family, see M. Amédée Renée, *Les Nièces de Mazarin*, 8vo. Paris.

## CHAPTER VI.

### ADMINISTRATION, FINANCES, AND TRADE.

HOWEVER deserving of praise Mazarin may have been, and certainly was, for stamping out the *Fronde* and replacing France in its proper rank amongst the European powers, whatever was his merit in concluding the Treaty of Westphalia and the peace of the Pyrenees, his home administration is open to the most serious criticism. Let us deal first with the question of finances. We can scarcely take up a single volume of M. Chéruel's work without finding repeatedly the ominous statement, *embarras financiers*. Considerable allowance must be made, of course, for the necessity of a protracted war, and, in the next place, for the maladministration of the national exchequer; but, still there is no doubt that the most shameful rapacity prevailed everywhere, and that, the meaning of the word *patriotism* being utterly unknown, the only maxim strictly adhered to and uniformly practised was to *feather one's nest* as promptly and as thoroughly as possible. Mazarin, if we may believe De Retz, whilst a soldier in the

papal army, had begun his career by playing with loaded dice, (§) and cheating at cards. He selected as comptroller of the finances a rogue who had been hung in effigy at Lyons for some serious misdemeanour. Michel Particelli d'Émery, belonging to an Italian family long settled in the south of France, was employed as a financier since 1643, and was comptroller-general under the orders of Superintendent de Bailleul when the first troubles connected with the *Fronde* broke out. His great skill consisted in procuring resources for the time, but at the imminent risk of engaging and compromising the future. He disposed of the usual taxes by granting to the persons who farmed them considerable pecuniary advantages, provided they would consent to make anticipatory remittances to the treasury. Matters soon came to such a pass that the estimated income of two years was spent in one. Colbert, giving an account of the financial history of the early part of Louis XIV.'s reign, very properly observes that national bankruptcy was, at that rate, inevitable in the course of five or six years. For such a state of things extraordinary measures were absolutely required, such as the alienation of the revenue, the creation of new offices, the increase of taxes, etc., and other devices, which had to be verified and sanctioned by the Parliament. The speculators who undertook, on their own responsibility, the assessment and recovery of the taxes, far from incurring the slightest risk, made in a short time the most prodigious fortunes, both through the interest

they charged and the discount allowed to them, so that a constant spirit of irritation was fostered in the Parliament and amongst the tax-payers.

We have the evidence of the Venetian ambassador, Nani, to confirm Colbert's remarks. As early as the beginning of 1647 he alludes to the hopeless state of disorder of the French finances. The superintendent used to give out *assignations*, or promissory notes, for the payment of the creditors of the State; but, the public treasury being empty, these notes were repeatedly dishonoured. "The administration of the exchequer is such," says Nani, "that the king has never a *sou* of his own. In order to obtain cash, it is necessary to issue *assignations* on moneys which are due to the treasury, and the amount of which is greater than the sums disbursed. The result of these arrangements is that the exchequer is empty, all the resources due are engaged, and that during the year (1646) the revenue for 1647 has been spent by anticipation. Nay, the Government is now beginning to eat up the income of 1648." A little further on, Nani says (August 13) "that the revenues of 1647, 1648, and 1649 are swallowed up, as well as that of 1650, less twenty millions." This was just a position to tax Particelli d'Émery's ingenuity. The *édit du toisé*,* weighing chiefly on the poorer classes, had excited riots in Paris, and it was found necessary to withdraw it; the *taxe des aisés*, affecting the rich *bourgeoisie*, had been

* Ordering the demolition of all the houses built in the suburbs of Paris.

assessed in an arbitrary manner, and yielded very little; the *édit du tarif*, modifying the duties on all articles of consumption introduced in Paris, was opposed by the Parliament. Finally, D'Émery bethought himself of a scheme which appealed to all the holders of Church livings. He would ask them to abandon to the king two years of their income, allowing them, by way of compensation, the right of appointing their successors. These livings being very rich, the proposition made by D'Émery would have brought in a large sum to the national exchequer, and at the same time it could not be but most acceptable to the bishops and other holders of benefices, because these benefices would become hereditary property in the families when the first appointment was made. Such a measure required, in the first instance, the sanction of the Holy See, and Fontenay-Mareuil, then ambassador at the Vatican, was instructed to obtain, if possible, the necessary leave; but the pope refused to authorize what really was a traffic of sacred things, and the plan had to be given up. Particelli d'Émery held his post till July, 1648, when he fell into disgrace for a short time. Entrusted once more with the management of the finances in November, 1649, he died May 25, 1650. His indifference for public opinion was proverbial. On one occasion, Bautru presented to him a friend of his own, saying, "Here is a man, sir, who can immortalize you; but you must give him something to live on." "Sir," replied D'Émery, "I shall be very happy to be useful

to your *protégé*, if I can, but on condition that he will not praise me. Superintendents are only fit to be cursed." We must bear in mind that the fundamental laws of the ancient monarchy, coupled with the traditions of feudalism, rendered at all times the financial administration a matter of extreme difficulty. The Church assists the State with its prayers, and the aristocracy brings to its service the power of the sword. Such was the old maxim, and under that plea the two first orders of the realm stoutly denied the obligation on their part of paying taxes. The persons most able to contribute to the revenues of the State were accordingly the very ones who claimed exemption, and the financial support they grudgingly paid was ridiculously disproportionate to their resources. When the general assembly of the clergy met in 1567, they renewed for a period of ten years their annual subvention of 1,292,906 livres, 13 sols, and 9 deniers; and, at the urgent request of the king's commissioners, they added a free gift (*don gratuit*) of 2,700,000 livres, which, however, the delegates of the assembly refused to sanction. The absolute necessity of paying without delay the foreign auxiliaries in the French service placed Mazarin in the most awkward position, and a letter of his to the Abbé Fouquet, quoted by M. Chéruel,* shows what were the difficulties of the Government. It would have been quite impossible then to assimilate the old *noblesse* to the position of taxpayers, but Mazarin resolved

* *Ministère de Mazarin*, vol. iii. p. 51.

upon trying a kind of *mezzo termine* (1657, 1658), and of assessing the *traitants* (farmers of the taxes) and other petty agents of the Government who had purchased patents of nobility. All these patents, granted since 1610, were accordingly revoked; but so great was the opposition that the cardinal had finally to succumb.

We have just named the Abbé Fouquet—he was the brother of the notorious *surintendant*—and, passing over the three finance ministers (La Meilleraye, De Maisons, La Vieuville) who succeeded immediately to D'Émery, we shall come at once to the man whose character has been the subject of so much controversy. Nicholas Fouquet, born in 1615, was the son of a Breton shipowner, and displayed at an early age the cleverness and talent for business which he was to give such proofs of when called to take part in the affairs of the State. After having held the two offices of *maître des requêtes* and solicitor-general (*procureur général*) to the Parliament of Paris, he was appointed by Anne of Austria to the post of superintendent of the finances jointly with Abel Servien. Never were two men of such different tempers and characters yoked together. Rough and opinionative, proof against the shameful bribery which was then so common, Servien discouraged and repelled the speculators who offered themselves to farm the taxes, and who advanced money to the State at exorbitant interest. His principle was to refuse everything, either just or unjust, which was asked of him; and he had also a defect which is

capital in the management of affairs—that of irresolution, a defect arising in his case from the extreme anxiety he felt never to come to any fixed determination till he was perfectly sure that he could do so conscientiously. Fouquet's nature was exactly the reverse. Conciliatory, polite, affable, seeing no difficulties anywhere, anxious to make everything smooth and agreeable to those with whom he had to do, unburdened by scruples, no one better than he could manage speculators and get money out of them. He made no mystery of his jealousy of Servien, and endeavoured to ruin him in Mazarin's opinion. This, however, was quite impossible; the cardinal had too much shrewdness not to appreciate the sterling qualities of Fouquet's colleague, and accordingly he retained him, assigning to him the duty of paying the creditors, whilst the other superintendent had as his mission the task of furnishing the money. Fouquet thus found himself brought into contact with the financiers who advanced funds to the State, and he obtained from them the sums necessary for the campaign of 1655, thanks to the creation of fresh taxes, which those gentlemen farmed at an enormous percentage. He did more: he managed to bring over to the wishes of the king the Paris Parliament, who, in the first instance, refused to register the edicts decreeing an increase in the taxation. He then became Mazarin's intimate friend and adviser. It is a matter of notoriety that he shared in the scandalous profits made by the *traitants*. He advanced to the public treasury, under supposed

names, large sums of money, and thus gained in a very short time an immense fortune, which he spent in sumptuous buildings and extravagance of every kind. The question is whether Mazarin was the dupe of Fouquet, or whether he was not rather his accomplice. Knowing, as we do, the cardinal's sagacity, we can hardly suppose that Fouquet's swindling propensities had not been discovered by him. In 1659, warned by Colbert, he was strongly urged to bring before a court of law the unprincipled superintendent, and to have him put on his trial for malversation; but in 1655 he still trusted him, and, with shame let it be said, when he then perceived the increase in the expenditure, it was Servien whom he called to account. In the letter he wrote to him on the subject, and which is quoted by M. Chéruel,* he throws out the supposition that, as the expenses were considerably in excess of the receipts, much of the income had gone towards assignations made on behalf of private individuals. These individuals were none other but the financiers or nominal lenders whom Fouquet employed to advance funds, which were afterwards repaid to him at a high interest.

French finances, to state the case briefly, were in the greatest confusion, and Mazarin had the good sense of giving to the Protestant Hervart, whose honesty he had often tested, the duty of verifying the accounts of both Servien and Fouquet. This was a sure means of checking the expenditure and of ascertaining the sources of the revenue, as well as

* *Ministère de Mazarin*, vol. ii. p. 270.

the channels through which the disbursements went. We may easily imagine the irritation which Hervart's strict *surveillance* caused to Fouquet; but it was useless, and, complain as he might, he never succeeded in prejudicing the cardinal against either Hervart or Servien. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the superintendent's influence grew daily. He knew Mazarin's insatiable avarice, and he supplied him with the means of increasing his already large fortune by associating him with his own shameless speculations. Fouquet's brother, the *abbé* of whom we have spoken above, made himself useful on his side in another way. He acted as a kind of policeman, and sent to the Bastille all those who were bold enough to oppose the minister's will, or even to criticize him in the gazettes or pamphlets of the day. Gourville's amusing memoirs contain a witty anecdote in illustration of this subject. He had been sent to prison for giving bad advice to the Prince de Condé. "Knowing," says he, "that M. l'Abbé Fouquet was employed by the cardinal to lock up people in the Bastille, and that he set free a great many of the persons detained there, I turned my thoughts in that direction. I remember, incidentally, a solicitor (*procureur*), a wit and a keen satirist, whom he had placed under arrest. As we were walking about together one day, a man entered the courtyard, who, perceiving a greyhound, was surprised at it, and asked why the animal was there. The solicitor answered, with his jeering air, 'Sir, it is because he has bitten the Abbé Fouquet's dog.'" The Fouquets

were, beyond a doubt, the curse of Mazarin. The financier's disgrace, imprisonment, and death do not come within the limits of this biography. We shall only say that, urged on by Colbert, Louis XIV. displayed the meanest duplicity in prosecuting him, and that, however undeserved it might have been, the sympathy he met with on the part of Madame de Sévigné, La Fontaine, and many other distinguished persons, stands in pleasant contrast to the vindictive spirit of the *Grand Monarque.*

From financial matters let us turn to more agreeable topics, and to details where Mazarin appears more advantageously. We have seen elsewhere how implacable Richelieu was, and what constant use he made of the executioner. His successor showed in that respect an entirely different spirit. The block and the axe delivered Richelieu of his opponents; Mazarin did not put a single political adversary to death. He knew the best way of silencing men whose only motive-principle was selfishness, and who had no spark of patriotism whatever. The numerous representatives of the Lorraine family were anxious for dignities and places at Court; they were served according to their desires. The Guises, high chamberlains; the D'Harcourts, masters of the horse; D'Elbeuf, Governor of Picardy; the Rohans, the Lesdiguières, the De Luynes, made no difficulty to exchange for pensions, gratuities, and other substantial advantages, those political aspirations to which they had shown themselves so unequal. Mazarin knew perfectly well that the field of battle

on the one hand, and the drawing-rooms of St. Germain or Versailles on the other, were the only places fit for the French *noblesse*, and he made them understand that there they must be content to remain. There is no doubt whatever that this destruction of the aristocracy was a political blunder; but it cannot be denied that the aristocracy had brought upon themselves the humiliating position to which they were reduced. We say *humiliating* from the point of view of posterity, for the old *Frondeurs* did not see anything wrong in falling to the level of a set of parasites, whose whole time was spent in dancing attendance at the king's *levées*. But for the country itself the results were deplorable. It is precisely because the French nobility sank to the condition of *piliers d'antichambre* that, two centuries later, the balance of power was lost, and that the throne itself was swept away by the Revolution. Speaking of the courtiers who crowded round Louis XIV., M. Taine says, "You are a decoration; you form part and parcel of the rooms; you are taken into reckoning as if you were one of the hangings, pilasters, consoles, and sculptures supplied by Lepaute. The king wants to see your lace, your embroidery, your hat, your feathers, your bands, your wig. You are the covering of an armchair; if you go away, it is a piece of furniture the less." *

Instead of being reduced thus low, and transformed into merely an article of stage property, if the aris-

* *Essais de Critique et d'Histoire*, pp. 257–259.

tocracy of France had occupied a position similar to that which the same class of society holds in this country, we might, it is true, never have seen the brilliant *siècle* of Louis XIV.; but we should have been spared the horrors of 1793 and the demoralizing consequences of military sway.

If we want to ascertain what the aristocracy was in the time of Mazarin, we cannot do better than turn to the plays of Molière. He had been able to see the representatives of the French nobility, and if he appreciated amongst them men of real worth and of unimpeachable virtue, most of them were scoundrels like Don Juan and swindlers such as the Marquis Dorante. It is noteworthy that in all his masterpieces, whenever he has to describe a nobleman he uniformly turns him into ridicule or paints him in the darkest colours. M. Jourdain is a fool, but he is a man of honour, and when he asks Cléonte "*Êtes vous gentilhomme?*" we immediately think that we would far prefer the position of the late linendraper, who stood behind his counter in the Rue St. Denis, to that of the *gentilhomme* Dorante, who had spoken of him *dans la chambre du Roi.*

It is in the *bourgeoisie* that Mazarin selected his coadjutors, and the evidence of history shews how singularly fortunate he was in his choice. Hugues de Lionne is the first whose name occurs to us. He has obtained a celebrity as a diplomatist which is perfectly justified by the versatility of his talents, his knowledge of human nature, and the clearness

of his judgment; and although it would be a gross exaggeration to say, as some historians have said, that he really created or devised what Louis XIV. carried out, there is no doubt that he must be placed in the foremost rank of the politicians of the seventeenth century. Born in 1611, he died in 1671, and thus took an active part in all the leading events which occurred during Mazarin's lifetime. It is in Italy that he first became acquainted with the future cardinal (1637), who entrusted him with a difficult mission at the Papal Court, a mission which he managed most cleverly and brought to a satisfactory conclusion (1642). Named councillor of state, secretary to the queen, he shared Mazarin's temporary disgrace, but was soon recalled, and sent on important duties to Italy, Germany, Madrid, and Frankfort. One of the chief transactions in which he had to play an active part was the prosecution of Cardinal de Retz and the election of Pope Alexander VII. The position of the French ambassador during the conclave was an extremely difficult one, the Jansenist controversy coming in to make matters still more intricate than they originally were. De Lionne showed the whole extent of his abilities on this occasion, and he succeeded in obtaining from the pope what the French Government most wanted, namely, the appointment of a wise and moderate man to the administration of the Diocese of Paris instead of a nominee of the turbulent Coadjutor. Lionne was also one of the chief negotiators of the Treaty of the Pyrenees. Minister of State (1659)

and secretary for foreign affairs (1663), he directed till his death the outward policy of France with the most signal success.

Of De Lionne's uncle, Abel Servien, we have already said a few words. It was due chiefly to his skill that the peace of Westphalia was satisfactorily concluded. He died in 1659, at the age of sixty-six, leaving behind him a reputation for severity and haughtiness which, if sometimes carried to unnecessary extremes, contrasted favourably, at any rate, with the corruption and immorality of many of his fellow-diplomatists.

Any person reading the funeral orations of Michel Le Tellier by Bossuet and Fléchier, would be perfectly justified in believing that the statesman thus praised was one of the most exemplary and immaculate personages of the French seventeenth century. "My lords," says the Eagle of Meaux, "in praising the incomparable man whose funeral this illustrious assembly celebrates, and whose virtues we are met to honour, I shall praise wisdom itself; and the wisdom I am to extol in this address is not that which raises men to high dignities and enriches families. . . . He has known the wisdom which the world does not know—the wisdom which comes from above, from the Father of light, and which makes men walk in the paths of righteousness. . . . We remark in his conduct the three following signs of true wisdom. Raised, without any ambition on his part, to the highest honour, he has lived as modest as he was great. In his various offices . . . he had

nothing in view but the good of the public. Finally, arrived at a happy old age, ready to give up, together with his great soul, the sacred trust of authority so properly committed to his care, he saw his grandeur disappear with his life without its costing him a single sigh of regret, because he had placed his hopes where death could not reach them."

Now let us turn to the plain, matter-of-fact testimony of contemporary memoir-writers. "Consummate in deceit (*patelinage*), he was dangerous and vindictive as an Italian." * "He had," says the Abbé de Choisy, "all the outside of a gentleman (*un honnête homme*); a mild, soft, insinuating mind. He spoke with so much circumspection that people took him to be more clever than he really was, and often ascribed to his wisdom what was, as a matter of fact, the effect of ignorance. . . . He promised much, and seldom kept his word; timid as far as his family affairs were concerned, bold and even enterprising in those of the State. His genius was not above the average, and his views were limited. He was not very fit to occupy the first places, where he often gave proof of indiscretion; but when he had once formed a plan, he carried it out firmly. A perfect master of his passions, he could not be influenced by them; polite and regular in the common intercourse of everyday life, he never bestowed anything but flattery; but he was a dangerous adversary, anxious to find an opportunity of striking the man who had offended him, and always striking in secret, for fear of creating enemies to

* *Mémoires de St. Hilaire*, i. 8.

himself, whom he never despised, however insignificant they might be." *

This portrait is not quite so flattering as that painted by Bossuet; but it is the real one, after all, and we might have made it blacker still if we had quoted the evidence of Protestant authorities, for Le Tellier's share in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes is well known, and history has it on record that when, two days before his death, he signed the fatal decree, he pronounced the *Nunc Dimittis.*

We have only to do, however, with the contemporary of Cardinal Mazarin. If De Lionne distinguished himself as a diplomatist, Michel le Tellier (1603–1685) took warlike matters under his special control. After helping the Chancellor Séguier to put down the revolt of the *va-nu-pieds* in Normandy, he contributed in no small degree to the restoration of the queen's authority during the *Fronde.* He brought about the Treaty of Rueil, and it is to him that Anne of Austria and the cardinal gave all their confidence when the civil dissensions broke out again. The retreat of Mazarin in 1651 was followed by that of Le Tellier, who felt in a certain sense bound to share the disgrace of his friend and patron, just as De Lionne had done. But he returned to office even before the minister; and when, for the second time, Mazarin saw himself compelled to leave the Court and the kingdom, the whole weight of public business fell upon Le Tellier, who remained in constant attendance near the queen-mother and the

* *Mémoires*, p. 213.

young king. He resigned in 1666 his office of secretary of state for war in favour of his son Louvois, and was subsequently appointed keeper of the seals.

We now come to the greatest of Mazarin's *protégés*, the famous Colbert. His name stands by itself in the roll of French seventeenth-century statesmen, and his father was one of the wealthiest representatives of the *bourgeoisie*, or, to tell the truth, of intelligent tradesmen. Colbert was a man of real genius, and the clever manner in which he surmounted financial difficulties of the most overwhelming nature has justly called forth the admiration of posterity. There are certain circumstances when the task of a financier is comparatively easy. He finds the whole administrative machine in good order, and nothing else is required but steady and intelligent surveillance; spring corresponds to spring, wheel moves regularly within wheel, and when one of the pieces of the system gets worn out, the remedy is speedily and effectually applied. Far different was the state of things when Colbert took the reins of the financial administration of France. It is not too much to say that he created that branch of the service, in great part at least, and after a terrible struggle with those who were continuing in the seventeenth century the old traditions of feudalism. Fouquet, in more than one respect, represented the past: he was surrounded by a company of devoted followers, ready to act at his bidding, to obey his slightest orders, and to do him the service which the vassals of the olden times did to their liege lord.

This is so true, that amongst the charges brought forward against him, and which were produced in the course of his trial, was a scheme he apparently meditated for making himself independent, thanks to the assistance upon which he reckoned from abroad, and, if necessary, the renewal of the civil war. But Fouquet did not know what an adversary he was to find in Colbert; the struggle was to be a severe one. It came to a successful issue, however, thanks to a species of energetic, severe, and despotic obstinacy, quite *à la Richelieu.* It is curious to note the admiration which Colbert entertained for the prime minister of Louis XIII., and it has been remarked that when an important affair had to be discussed in council, Louis XIV. was wont to say, jestingly, "There's Colbert, who is going to repeat to us, 'Sire, that great Cardinal Richelieu,' etc." Mazarin's policy was often vacillating, uncertain, astute rather than clever; Colbert's was energetic, open, excessive, and frequently overshooting its aim from its very severity. The correspondence of the illustrious financier has been preserved, and it is extremely curious to notice how repeatedly, how strongly, he remonstrates with Mazarin on his weakness. He would have him adopt rigorous decisions, dismiss the members of the Paris Parliament who ventured to resist the authority of the Crown, deal sternly with the evil-disposed, and, in short, assert beyond question the king's authority. Not that Colbert was faultless; far from it. In the first place, he certainly managed to push on his own

fortunes, and those of his family. He who had begun his public career as the very modest secretary of Le Tellier, contrived to amass a fortune corresponding to 50,000,000 francs according to the present computation; he insisted upon his sons Seignelay and D'Ormoy being ministers when they were only twenty years old. In the next place, his dealings with Fouquet were certainly marked not only by the greatest rigour, but frequently by gross injustice. He felt, however, that he could reckon always and unreservedly on the support of Louis XIV., and he was determined to carry out the reforms which he knew were imperatively demanded by the state of the exchequer. We may further remark that Colbert insisted on his clerks and *employés* working as diligently as he did himself. "You ask me, my son," said he one day, "whether it is better to work early in the morning or late in the evening; my answer is, you must work morning and evening." Such was Colbert, a kind of secular Richelieu, backed in his despotic views by the absolutism of Louis XIV.

We have thus enumerated Mazarin's chief coadjutors. Let us now proceed with our account of the changes he introduced into the administration of public affairs. One of the principal was the reinstatement of the *intendants*. We have endeavoured elsewhere to point out the character of their duties and the extreme importance of their creations. They had been, during the *Fronde*, suppressed in some provinces, whilst in others their privileges had been

curtailed. As soon as the civil war was at end, the prime minister re-established them on their original footing.

One of the chief questions which called for a prompt and decisive solution was the *rôle* of the Parliament in the State and the exact nature of its duties. As a judicial body, the Paris Parliament had earned universal esteem by the unblemished character of its members, their learning, their sense of justice, and the soundness of their decisions. The fault they had committed was to assume the right of interfering in political matters, and to place themselves in that respect exactly on the same level as the States-general. It is certainly much to be deplored that France did not possess a permanent legislative body of the same nature as the Parliament of England; or, if that were impossible, we must regret that the States-general were not summoned more frequently; but to assimilate these two bodies one with another was a manifest absurdity, and the Paris magistrates allowed themselves to be deluded by the identity of names, concluding from that identity to one of duties and of rights. If any one knew the danger of the usurpation we are now alluding to, it was the senior president, Mathieu Molé, whom we have seen during the *Fronde* struggling against the rebels, and, in the face of the greatest dangers, maintaining strenuously the authority and dignity of the Crown. In 1653, having resigned his presidentship, he remained keeper of the seals, a post in the discharge of which he insisted

on the strictest obedience to the laws, and he took care that the Parliament should not go beyond the limits fixed by the royal declaration of October 22, 1652. His successor as senior president was Pomponne de Bellièvre, a magistrate held in the highest esteem for his talents, but who was well known to have had intimate relations with the *Frondeurs*. The authority of the king was now so firmly established, however, that no danger need be dreaded on that account. He died in 1657, and was succeeded by Guillaume de Lamoignon, than whom no one was more able, by the dignity of his life, the charm of his mind, his eloquence, and his urbanity, to reconcile the Parliament to a most honourable position still, although absolutely precluded from meddling with political questions and State affairs. Under the administration of Richelieu, the frequent appointment of special courts and commissions to try offenders against the Government had singularly damaged the influence of the Parliament. Mazarin disliked these manifestations of petty tyranny, and it is only very seldom that he had recourse to them. Thus he sent before the Paris Parliament the Duke de Beaufort, who had attempted to murder him; the *Frondeurs* accused of plotting Condé's death were tried by the same court; and Condé himself, guilty of felony (March, 1659), was judged there also.

It is not too much to say that, like Henry IV., Mazarin had to purchase back the kingdom piece by piece. This was, of course, a rather humiliating fact, but it had to be accepted, and when once the

principles of order and monarchical institutions were restored, the cardinal took care to secure in the various parts of the realm agents and advisers, both in the laity and in the clergy, who kept him well informed of what was going on. Cardinal Bichi, Zongo Ondedei, the two Franciscan monks, Ittier and Berthod, and the Jesuit Pausin were the principal amongst these personages.

In estimating what was done for the French navy and for commerce in general when order was once re-established, we must not forget that the whole of the credit of these improvements belongs to Colbert alone. Encouragements were given to the ship-owners who traded with America; a company was organized with the exclusive privilege of carrying on the whale fishery and all the various trades connected with it; a duty of fifty sous per hogshead raised upon foreign vessels was destined to protect French commerce. A document from Colbert's pen, drawn up probably in 1653 or 1654, and addressed to the minister, dwells most strongly on the necessity of developing trade with foreign nations, and of profiting in a pecuniary point of view from the extreme fertility with which it had pleased God to bless the soil of France. If we may rely upon the details given by De Witt in his memoirs, the French export trade at that time amounted to upwards of 40,000,000 livres, and there is all the more reason for not doubting his accuracy, because it was the Dutch navy which almost exclusively conveyed French goods to foreign countries, and therefore the

shippers of Holland must have known exactly the amount of the export trade of France. The Venetian ambassador, Morosini, alludes in an admiring strain (1653) to the wealth brought into Paris. "I can affirm," says he, "that the city of Paris possesses the greatest part of the gold which has been brought for a long time from America into Europe. These treasures have their origin in the great traffic resulting from the activity of a large number of merchants." Morosini then compares Paris to a perpetual fair, a huge market where the whole kingdom comes to make its purchases.

The *Fronde* had scarcely ended when the Venetian ambassador made the above curious statement. The minister did not care individually for the commercial prosperity of France; but Colbert was there, and, thanks to his patriotic zeal, Mazarin's *insouciance* was thwarted and nullified. The active financier did what he could to restore French commerce to its wonted state of prosperity and to improve the situation both of the *bourgeoisie* and of the working classes. Manufactures were to be established, a wine-market built, marsh-lands drained, a survey of the kingdom drawn up, the postal service reformed, canals opened, hospitals created, mendicity prohibited. The civil wars, besides impoverishing the country, had so completely ruined every branch of industry, that the whole commercial structure had to be raised again, and, for want of private capital in the first instance, the Government had to take the lead and set the example.

Amongst the numerous other occupations which assailed Mazarin on all sides, one might suppose *a priori* that he had not much time to devote to educational subjects. The rivalry between the Jesuits and the Paris University was as great as ever. With it the cardinal-minister did not interfere; but, aiming as he did at proving himself Richelieu's continuator, and at imitating him in all things, he too wished to have a college of his own, rivalling the Sorbonne, and designed to carry his own name down to posterity as a patron of intellectual culture. His dream was the foundation of a school where only young *gentilshommes* born in the provinces conquered by France during his administration should be educated. The course of training was to be as complete and as comprehensive as possible, but entirely gratuitous. What was to be the name of the college? Here Mazarin hesitated for some time between *Collége des Conquêtes* and *Collége Mazarin*. Finally, he chose the latter designation. The establishment was intended to consist of a school and of what then was called an *academy*—that is to say, a kind of gymnasium for the teaching of horsemanship, fencing, and dancing. Sixty pupils, and no more: fifteen from the district of Pignerol, fifteen from the States of the Church, fifteen from Alsace, fifteen from Flanders, Artois, Hainault, and Sardinia united. Out of these sixty young men, one-fourth alone were to attend the exercises of the academy. The right of nominating the pupils would belong to the eldest living repre-

sentative of the Mazarin family. The cardinal requested the twelve most ancient doctors of the Sorbonne to select from amongst themselves four who, under the name of inspectors, would direct the whole management of this new foundation. In the midst of the buildings he intended to erect a chapel, where his tomb was to be deposited. To the college he bequeathed his library, then one of the richest in the world, on condition that it should be accessible to the public twice a week. Finally, a sum of 2,000,000 livres was set apart for building purposes, and the annual expenditure was to be defrayed from the revenues of the Abbey of St. Michel en l'Herm, then amounting to 34,000 livres, in addition to 45,000 livres of yearly income on the securities of the Paris Hôtel de Ville. Such was Mazarin's munificent plan. But, however anxious he was to immortalize his name, and to place himself on the same line as his predecessor, Richelieu, he did not succeed in so doing. The prime minister who ruled France under Louis XIII. rests at the Sorbonne; Mazarin's tomb has not yet been restored to the abode which had been contemplated for it. It is one of the chief ornaments of a sculpture-gallery, but visitors, whilst passing before it, admire chiefly the genius of the artist, without giving a thought to the statesman who ordered it, and to the political events it was meant to commemorate. The Mazarin library is still in existence; but how many persons know aught of its past history? Finally, the new establishment was called neither *Collége des Con-*

*quêtes* nor *Collége Mazarin.* After having been for a century known as *Collége des Quatre Nations,* it is now the *Institut de France,* a creation of the first consul, Napoleon Bonaparte!

The establishment of the *Collége Mazarin* met with numberless difficulties. Three sites had been proposed, to each of which objections were raised. The present ground where the *Jardin des Plantes* now stands was one of them, and would have been suitable in every respect if, as had been suggested, the botanical gardens could have been transferred to Vincennes. This, however, was found impossible, and so the idea was abandoned, after some negotiation. Why the Luxemburg was thought of seems inconceivable, as it was a royal palace, and therefore unlikely to be disposed of by Louis XIV., who, as a matter of fact, refused at once. Then the University of Paris, by virtue of its ancient privileges, insisted on the new buildings being erected within its own boundaries, which were clearly defined. The *Pays Latin,* as Guez de Balzac already styled it, formed one of the official divisions of the metropolis, and we notice that as late as the commencement of the Revolution, it enjoyed its position as a recognized district, side by side with the town, the city, and the suburbs. During the reign of Philip Augustus it was even surrounded by walls. On the north its limits were the Seine, beginning at the Porte St. Bernard, and ending at the Nesle estate; on the eastward it had for its boundaries the gates of St. Victor, St. Jacques, St. Marcel, and St. Michel; finally,

on the westward stood the gates of St. Germain, Buci, and Nesle. Within this circumscription the Collége Mazarin must needs stand, and as the best site was the Hôtel de Nesle, it had to be purchased at a considerable expense. The preliminary difficulty was accordingly settled, but no regard was paid to the express will of the testator. Another proof of the small amount of respect paid to Mazarin's intentions, is found in the modifications introduced by the Sorbonne authorities into the very constitution of the college. The cardinal, as we have already said, designing it for noblemen exclusively, wanted especially to combine with classical studies the pursuits familiar to young men belonging to that class of society—dancing, riding, and fencing. Now, this clause was absolutely rejected by the then dignitaries of the university. "*Ut prædictum collegium,*" said the dean of the Divinity School, "*nullam habeat academiam palæstricam.*" The procurator of the French nation, in his turn, insisted, "*Ut academia palæstrica removeatur.*" His colleague of Picardy declared, "*Academiam gladiatoriam arceori velle.*" Finally, the delegate of the German nation petitioned, "*Ut ab eo collegio arceantur gladiatores et saltatores.*" These conditions had to be accepted, although they were not only opposed to Mazarin's will, but to the dictates of the simplest common sense. The result was, that although the new college had been declared *a royal foundation,* very few noble families availed themselves of the advantages connected with it. Only poor *gentilshommes*

did so, and the purpose for which the foundation had been devised was frustrated. The cardinal's executors endorsed the decisions of the university, and the king himself, who, by his letters-patent of 1665, had given his approval to the creation of the *académie*, withdrew it by a similar deed bearing date 1688.

The Collége Mazarin has disappeared long since; but the library still remains, bearing witness to its founder's intellectual tastes, and is one of the noblest literary institutions of which Paris can boast.*

* On the history of Mazarin's educational scheme, see M. A. Franklin's *Recherches Historiques sur le Collége des Quatre Nations.* 8vo. Paris, 1862.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE GALLICAN CHURCH—JANSENISM.

We are not surprised at finding that the spirit of independence broke out in the Gallican Church as well as in the laity after the death of Richelieu, and that an attempt was made on the part of the clergy to throw off the yoke imposed upon them by the terrible prime minister of Louis XIII. The elements of revolt had been gathering for some time, and the ecclesiastical *Fronde*, if we may use such an expression, was represented by the Jansenists. St. Cyran had, it is true, disappeared from the scene, but his indomitable spirit was inherited by the celebrated Antoine Arnauld, who carried on the contest against the Jesuits with an amount of energy which nothing could daunt, and whose disputes occupied a considerable portion of the reign of Louis XIV.

It is much to be regretted that the affairs of the Church were at first so thoroughly mixed up with the politics of the day, and that Jansenism should have been called in as an ally of the *Frondeurs;* but so it was. The turbulent Coadjutor of Paris became

an admirer of Arnauld, for the simple reason that Mazarin detested the theological school of Port Royal; and an unprincipled ecclesiastic, who cared equally little for predestination on the one side, and free will on the other, identified himself with the Jansenists because they represented, in matters spiritual, the essence of opposition.

We must remember that Mazarin had resolved upon bringing an action against De Retz as guilty of high treason; but this design was beset with the utmost difficulties, the Coadjutor having taken refuge at Rome, and being thus beyond the limits of the French jurisdiction. The then pope, Innocent X., who had been elected in spite of Mazarin's strenuous opposition, was naturally irritated against the French minister, and lost no opportunity of showing his friendship for the leader of the *Fronde*. He allowed him a pension, bestowed upon him the cardinal's hat, and expressly prohibited the Bishop of Coutances from exercising any sacred function in the metropolitan church of Paris. However, the hand of death removed Innocent X. (January 7, 1655), and the election of Cardinal Chigi to the papacy, under the title of Alexander VII., seemed to deprive De Retz of all hope at Rome, for the reason that the new pope was in a certain sense bound by the ties of gratitude to further Mazarin's views and to support the policy of the French Government. Yet, during the early period of his pontificate, Alexander VII. seemed rather well disposed towards De Retz. Was it from a vague hope that acts of kindness might

induce him to resign the Archbishopric of Paris? Was it, as some have fancied, that he believed Mazarin to have, on this occasion, been guilty of injustice, and that he thought himself bound to defend an innocent man? Whichever view we adopt, the pope delayed the appointment of the ecclesiastical commissioners who would have had to judge the case, and as, by virtue of the laws which ruled the Gallican Church, combined with the old parliamentary traditions, the decision of the Papal Court would have been pronounced null across the Alps, a final solution seemed hopeless. In the meanwhile Alexander VII., by bestowing the pallium upon the Coadjutor of Paris, virtually recognized him as the lawful archbishop, and De Retz thought himself justified in taking vigorous measures to establish his rights. He removed away the administration of the diocese from the vicars-general whom the chapter had nominated, and appointed in their stead two independent ecclesiastics, Hodencq, *curé* of St. Séverin, and Chassebras, *curé* of La Madeleine. The former was a man of little influence; but the latter, on the contrary, was a violent agitator, who did his utmost to excite the Paris mob against the cardinal-minister. Mazarin wrote to De Lionne: "There is no greater Jansenist than that self-styled grand vicar of Cardinal de Retz. He does an extraordinary amount of mischief; moves heaven and earth to organize a cabal in Paris; and carries out blindly every measure suggested to him by the adherents of De Retz, who work most heartily to create some

sedition. He, however, keeps so carefully hidden that no one can guess where he is." The position was a very delicate one, and it seemed difficult for the pope to get out of it. Jansenism, of course, was hated at Rome, and it was deemed an intolerable scandal that the dominions of his most Christian Majesty should be the head-quarters of so dangerous a sect. On the other hand, supposing the pope, pressed by Mazarin, appointed a suffragan to discharge the episcopal duties, would the Gallican Church and the Paris Parliament ratify his nomination? Nothing was less likely. The pope had, by a brief, placed the administration of the Diocese of Paris in the hands of Du Saussay, a moderate man, most desirous of re-establishing order where the spirit of rebellion had been so long rampant; but for fear of arousing the susceptibilities of the French clergy, he withdrew this concession, and contrived that the selection should appear to come from De Retz himself. The Coadjutor thus saw himself in a position where he could no longer be either troublesome or dangerous. Two courses were open to him: if he would preserve the good graces of the pope, he must have done for ever with revolutionary schemes and *Frondeur* turbulence; if, on the contrary, the spirit of opposition was too strong for him, he must make up his mind to be driven away from Rome, and to wander about Europe disgraced and despised. He adopted the wiser course.

In the meanwhile, the most strenuous efforts were made to excite Mazarin against the Jansenists, and

to induce him to punish them. One of his correspondents wrote to him from Rome: "The sect is still weak, and could not make war against the king; but your Eminence will please to remember that when Luther began in Germany and Calvin in France, their faction was weaker than that of the Jansenists, and consisted of a certain rabble of unfrocked priests and monks, without either authority or money. In France, at the present time, the Jansenists number amongst them ecclesiastics of high repute, rich persons, and members of the nobility. Many a one who tampers with those sects and spares them during their early beginnings, would fain exterminate them afterwards, when they are able to defend themselves, but lo! he cannot. . . . The Jansenists have so much increased in number during the last few years, that if they go on growing in the same proportion, we fear lest they should make themselves dangerous to the State, if your Eminence does not interfere. They began by turning into ridicule the bull of Innocent X.;* they will soon set at defiance the king's authority. They have neither fortified places nor captains, but they have the Paris mob, so easily stirred up. They have plenty of money, and I can assure your Eminence, that if the Jansenists wish to move, they will have, in two days, made a league with the Huguenots. The opinions of both parties are in unison; their weapons will agree likewise. The whole of France, therefore, beseeches

* Censuring five propositions taken from the *Augustinus* of Bishop Jansenius.

your Eminence to save her from the danger which threatens her. What a blot it would be on the great reputation you have acquired, if posterity should be compelled to say that the Jansenist sect exists and ruins the State, because your Eminence did not exterminate it when you could have done so! It is true that in the last assembly of the prelates you took efficacious measures; but that cannot be all. The Jansenists laugh at Rome and at the prelates who are contrary to them. Other means must be adopted; executions must be made. We must destroy Port Royal, which, but for that, will set at defiance the authority of the king and compromise public order."

The most violent advice was given to Mazarin. Spies, prosecutions, lawsuits, fines, exile, etc., etc., were recommended, and the minister was told that the principle of "no quarter" could alone stamp them out. Fortunately, he took no heed of these furious ebullitions of hatred; he was determined to try with the Jansenists the system of moderation which he had found so successful with the Huguenots, and he adopted a policy of conciliation and kindness, in which he was powerfully assisted by one of the most distinguished amongst the solitaries of Port Royal—we mean Arnauld d'Andilly. And here, as the opportunity suggests itself, let us introduce our readers to that celebrated family which shed so much lustre upon the reign of Louis XIV., and did so much honour to the Gallican Church. (§)

Without going back to the mediæval ancestors of

Arnauld d'Andilly, we shall start with Antoine Arnauld, who, born in 1560, was therefore twelve years old at the date of the massacre of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day, in 1572. His education, carefully attended to, had produced the most satisfactory results. He was equally remarkable for his ability and his industry, and his progress was so rapid that at the age of seventeen he began the study of the law. In course of time, having obtained great success at the bar, he made the acquaintance of M. Marion, the *advocate-general*, and whose only daughter became his wife in 1585. The story of this union is somewhat romantic. "During the interval between the betrothal and the marriage, M. Arnauld's father died suddenly, leaving one son by his first marriage, and seven sons—of whom the young advocate was the eldest—and four daughters by his second wife. He left also an unfinished lawsuit, involving a sum of no less than 100,000 francs, his whole fortune, and, at that time, a very large one. M. Arnauld did all in his power to comfort and console his mother, and he worked day and night till he had brought the lawsuit to a successful termination.

"Friends suggested to M. Marion that, as the burden of so large a family had fallen upon M. Arnauld, the marriage had better be broken off; but he answered that he was glad of the opportunity of showing his future son-in-law that he esteemed him for his own merits; and that this esteem was not diminished, but rather increased, by his present

position, so that he should give him his daughter's hand with even more pleasure and confidence than if Arnauld de la Mothe (Antoine Arnauld's father) had been alive.

"And so they were married, and in 1587, when Madame Arnauld was fifteen, her first child was born; and in 1612, when she was thirty-nine, she gave birth to her twentieth and last, Antoine, known as the *great* Arnauld. Ten of their children died young, but four sons and six daughters lived to make the name of their family illustrious, and to immortalize it by their earnest faith, great courage, and undying constancy." *

To revert now to Arnauld d'Andilly. After devoting part of his life to the law, he had retired to Port Royal; but his relations with the Court still existed, and the great reputation for prudence, discretion, and justice which the late councillor of state had so justly obtained, gave much weight to his decisions, and made of him a decidedly influential person. His son, Simon Arnauld, better known as the Marquis de Pomponne, was admitted into the king's councils, and had been already intrusted with several important missions. Arnauld d'Andilly was also on terms of friendship with Auvry, Bishop of Coutances, one of Mazarin's confidential advisers. The letters of Arnauld d'Andilly belonging to that epoch show clearly how joyfully the cardinal's peaceful disposition and spirit of toleration were received by some of the Jansenists. "Having

* Frances Martin, *Angélique Arnauld, Abbess of Port Royal.*

heard," he says, "the satisfaction which his Eminence has been pleased to testify concerning the resolution which my friends have taken to remain henceforth silent, I would just repeat here that, being equally attached to peace and to truth, they are as desirous of maintaining the one as they have been of defending the other; and I further entreat you most humbly to assure once more his Eminence that my friends will observe very religiously the promise which I give in their name."

Before the times of persecution began, those of satire and of ridicule naturally had their course, and, the Port Royalists not being in good odour at Versailles, the courtiers thought it was the right thing to make them a butt for coarse and caustic remarks. As some self-styled wits had remarked that *les messieurs* were employed, out of humility, no doubt, in making wooden shoes (*sabots*), Arnauld d'Andilly said one day to Anne of Austria, on taking leave of her, "If your Majesty should hear that I make *sabots* at Port Royal, don't believe it; but if you are told that I grow wall-fruit, believe it, and I hope to induce your Majesty to eat some of my own growing." The truth is, that all the solitaries bound themselves to some manual labour, and Arnauld d'Andilly had selected gardening as his occupation. Every year he sent to the queen a supply of fruit, which Mazarin jokingly called *fruits bénis*, and Anne of Austria had given strict directions to her servants to inform her whenever they placed on her table M. d'Andilly's fruits.

Even *le Grand Monarque* was favourably disposed towards Arnauld d'Andilly, and when the Marquis de Pomponne, his son, was raised to the dignity of secretary of state for foreign affairs, Louis XIV. expressed a desire to see the old Jansenist. Madame de Sévigné has described the scene in one of her most amusing letters.*

"The king chatted half an hour with good old D'Andilly (*le bonhomme*), as amusingly, as nicely, as agreeably as possible. He was anxious to show his wit to that nice old man, and to win his just admiration. He told him how glad he was of having selected M. de Pomponne; he was waiting impatiently for him. He would take care of his private affairs, for he knew him to be in straitened circumstances. He said to the good old man, that it was a piece of conceit on his part to state in the preface to his Josephus † that he was eighty; it was a sin to make such an incorrect declaration. They laughed; their wit allowed itself free course. The king added that he must not suppose he was to remain unnoticed in his wilderness; he, the king, would send for him. He wanted to see him as a man illustrious for all sorts of reasons. As the *bonhomme* assured him of his loyalty, the king said that he had no doubt whatever about it; D'Andilly knew too well all his duties to fail in that particular one. Those who served God well served the king well also.

* Letter 205 (September 23, 1671), Hachette's edition, vol. ii. pp. 369, 370.

† 1701, 3 vols. 8vo.; 1706, 3 vols. 4to.

Finally, all this was a series of wonders. The king took care to have a dinner prepared for him. He had him driven about in a carriage; he spoke about him a whole day with expressions of admiration. As for the *bonhomme*, he is overjoyed, and keeps repeating at every moment, feeling that he needs it, 'I must humble myself.'" *

Arnauld d'Andilly died at Port Royal, September 27, 1674.

It was a great pity that all the Jansenists did not possess the peaceful and conciliating spirit of the *bonhomme*. They complained, and rather justly, we must own, of numerous pamphlets composed against them by the Jesuits; but it is only right to say that their own violence was quite as great, and the celebrated Antoine Arnauld never allowed the fire of controversy to die out for want of fuel. Let us now tarry awhile in his company.

We must not forget that at the time about which we are now writing the Jesuits had risen to immense power, and that, as *directors of consciences*, they virtually shaped and moulded the morals of the most distinguished persons in the realm, and through them the tone of life of nearly the whole population of France. "A too general laxity prevailed with regard to the use of the Sacraments. . . . Absolution was dispensed in the confessional upon terms which were practically subversive of all discipline. Even in the case of gross habitual sinners, it was seldom

* See in the *Mémoires de Coulanges* the account which D'Andilly himself gives of the visit he paid to Versailles on the 10th.

attempted to insist on satisfactory proof of penitence, according to primitive rule, before admission to the holy mysteries. So long as a mechanical round of external ceremonies was duly practised, the confessor laid little or no stress on the necessity of inward purity and contrition of heart. . . . The Jesuits had been induced to adopt various maxims and expedients which were calculated to make religion palatable to men living an ordinary life in the world; to render the outward requirements of the gospel compatible with political ambition, with selfish indifference, or even with fashionable dissipation." *

It is this sad state of things which roused Arnauld's indignation, and it is not too much to say that the treatise, *De la Fréquente Communion*, fell upon the Jesuits as a thunder-clap. The immediate cause of its publication may be briefly stated.

The Princess de Guemené, one of the fashionable Court beauties of the day, governed or tried to govern her life by the advice of the Abbé de St. Cyran, then a prisoner in the Bastille. The Marchioness de Sablé pressed her to go to a ball one day when she had taken the Holy Communion. The answer was a refusal, grounded upon St. Cyran's advice. Father Sesmaisons, a Jesuit, who was then the spiritual guide of Madame de Sablé, had no such scruples, and, on being admitted to peruse Madame de Guemené's rule for her daily life, undertook to refute it with the assistance of two other Jesuits, Bauny and Rabardeau. The refuta-

* Jervis, *History of the Church of France*, vol. i. pp. 390, 391.

tion, in its turn, came under Arnauld's notice. It contained, amongst other enormities, the following rather startling proposition:—*The more destitute we are of divine grace, the more boldly we should approach Christ in the Eucharist.* Father Sesmaisons, as M. Sainte-Beuve remarks, belonged to the school of those who sanctioned what Pascal designates as *easy devotion* (*la dévotion aisée*). He would fain *sew pillows to the armholes* of sinners, and lead them to heaven by a broad path. Arnauld was scandalized, and he wrote the "*Traité de la fréquente Communion*" under the impression of combined sorrow and anger. He had taken special care not to mention the divine whose dangerous maxims he refuted, but his discretion was of no avail, and the wrath of the whole society of Jesuits visited him unmercifully. We cannot attempt to analyze here the celebrated book, which established Arnauld's reputation as a controversial writer, but we may safely affirm that since St. François de Sales's "*Introduction à la vie dévote*" no religious work had created such a stir in France. An author whom we have already quoted * describes it as "one of the finest specimens of close and exact reasoning in the French language." Its appearance has been styled an epoch in the national literature, from its luminous perspicuity and irresistible force of logic.† Sixteen prelates and twenty doctors of divinity stamped it with their approbation, expressed in unqualified terms. It is of great length, occupy-

* Jervis, *History of the Church of France*, vol. i. p. 392.

† Bonav. Racine, *Hist. Eccles.*, xii. art. 18.

ing nearly the whole of one of the quarto volumes of Arnauld's works.* M. Sainte-Beuve finds fault with the dry, scholastic form of the book, but acknowledges that it created in the language and the method of French theology a revolution corresponding to that introduced in poetry by Malherbe first, and then by Boileau; in tragedy, by Corneille; in metaphysics, by Descartes; in the genius and perfection of prose, by Pascal; in fiction, by Madame de la Fayette; in jurisprudence, by Domat.† The Jesuits were furious, and in the bitterness of their revenge they obtained from the Sorbonne, or theological board of the Paris University, the condemnation of certain propositions of an obnoxious character, supposed to be discoverable in Arnauld's works. These propositions were deduced, said the Jesuits, from those of Jansenius, which had been previously submitted to the papal censure.

It will be better, perhaps, to give here the famous *five propositions* which the Jesuits declared they had discovered in the *Augustinus* of Bishop Jansenius, because they constitute the groundwork of the accusation directed against the Jansenists ever since.

1. "Certain commandments of God are impossible to just persons even desiring and endeavouring to keep them, according to the strength which they

* The twenty-seventh.

† Sainte-Beuve, *Port Royal*, 3rd edition, p. 170. On the history of Jansenism, the Arnaulds, Pascal, etc., this work should be carefully studied.

then possess; and such grace is lacking to them as would render them possible.

2. "In the state of fallen nature internal grace is never resisted."

3. "In order to merit and demerit in the state of fallen nature, freedom from necessity is not required of man, but it suffices that there be freedom from constraint."

4. "The semi-Pelagians admitted the necessity of internal prevenient grace for each separate act, and even for the beginning of faith. Their heresy consisted in this—that they considered that grace to be such as the will of man might either resist or obey."

5. "It is a semi-Pelagian error to say that Christ died or shed His blood for all men absolutely." *

Such are the well-known propositions which had occasioned the sharp and bitter controversy we have just alluded to; they were formally condemned by the pope in the bull "Cum occasione" (June, 1653). Further discussions took place, and finally, at a meeting of the French bishops held at the Louvre in May, 1655, Cardinal Mazarin directed these prelates to enforce subscription to the bull from all the members of the clergy, whatever might be their rank, rectors of the universities, professors, and lecturers, under penalty of being prosecuted and punished as heretics.

A decision of that kind was for the Jesuits a triumph which they had scarcely anticipated, and

* The above translation is taken from Jervis, *ubi supra*, p. 402.

they determined upon making use of it for the purpose of crushing Port Royal and utterly destroying Jansenism. The monastery in the valley of Chevreuse, where a band of pious, accomplished, and high-minded Christians tried to bring about a reform in the Roman Catholic Church was at that time in the height of its prosperity. Singlin, Le Maître de Sacy, Claude Lancelot, Hamon, the Arnaulds, Nicole, Tillemont, may be named amongst a host of others, who have left behind them a memory dear to all those who value earnest religious convictions, united to intellectual gifts of the highest character. Besides the stated members of the community, there had grown around the monastery a real colony of sympathizers, who, either permanently or at frequent intervals, lived within reach of hallowed influences and ghostly advice. Madame de Sablé, Madame de Longueville, Mademoiselle de Vertus, had their rooms in the neighbourhood; the Duke de Luynes, son of the constable, led a life of pious and studious seclusion at the Château of Vaumurier, near the abbey; finally, the illustrious "Mère Angélique" ruled as the presiding genius of what might be truly called *the happy valley.*

It was in the year 1654 that the monastery of Port Royal greeted as a frequent visitor and friend a young man whose short career was to be closely connected with the Jansenist controversy, Arnauld's spirited protests against *la dévotion aisée*, and the scientific and literary history of France. Jacqueline, one of the daughters of Etienne Pascal, president

at the *Cour des aides* of Clermont, in Auvergne, had joined Port Royal in 1652. She had a sister, Gilberte, who married M. Périer, a country magistrate; and a brother, Blaise, the *effrayant génie* alluded to by M. de Chateaubriand. "Blaise Pascal," says M. Henry Rogers, "was born at Clermont in the year 1623, and died in the year 1662, at the early age of thirty-nine. When we think of the achievements which he crowded into that brief space, and which have made his name famous to all generations, we may well exclaim, with Corneille—

"À peine a-t-il vécu, quel nom il a laissé!"

It is not our intention here to analyze Pascal's labours as a mathematician; we shall not describe his celebrated arithmetical machine, nor examine those brilliant experiments in hydrostatics which have placed him on the same rank with Boyle and Torricelli. We turn at once to the *Provincial Letters*.

As early as the year 1646, Pascal, together with his sister Jacqueline, had felt deep religious impressions. He had become a Christian man, and, to use M. Carlyle's forcible language, "he believed in God, not on Sundays only, but on all days, in all places, and in all cases." These impressions, nevertheless, had gradually worn off, when a memorable escape from death in 1654 entirely separated him from the world, and bound him for ever to the society of Port Royal. His sister Jacqueline had already taken the veil in the monastery, and was now the *Sœur Sainte Euphémie*.

It was just about that time (1656) that Arnauld's *Lettres à un duc et pair* brought down upon him the wrath of the Sorbonne. This publication being the immediate cause of his condemnation, we shall give a short account of it from the pages of M. Jervis.

"Among the many aristocratic patrons of the Jansenists, one of the staunchest was the Duke de Liancourt—a nobleman who, after wasting his earlier years in fashionable dissipation, had been won to a life of piety by the counsels and example of his wife, a daughter of the Duke de Schomberg. The duke, when at Paris, resided in the parish of St. Sulpice—at that time under the charge of the celebrated Abbé Olier. In January, 1655, the duke was informed by M. Picoté, one of the clergy of St. Sulpice, to whom he resorted for confession, that he could not give him absolution unless he promised to break off all intercourse with 'Messieurs de Port Royal'—a connection incompatible with due deference to the late decisions of the Church. In particular, the confessor required that the duke's granddaughter, who was receiving her education at Port Royal, should be removed; and that two leading Jansenists, Des Mares and Bourgeois, who were sojourning under the duke's roof, should no longer be entertained there. M. de Liancourt, staggered and offended, declined compliance, and left the confessional without absolution." * No wonder that such a piece of unwarrantable tyranny stirred up Arnauld's wrath when he heard of it. The *Lettres à un duc et pair* were the

* Jervis, *ubi supra*, pp. 421, 422.

result, and the illustrious doctor, having resolutely and plainly refused to retract the so-called heretical propositions they contained, was deprived of his university degrees and ordered to be expelled from the Sorbonne.

One day, at a meeting of the members of the Port Royal Society, Arnauld was urged to write a strong protest against this fresh act of petty vengeance on the part of the Jesuits. "Will you," said some one, "allow yourself to be condemned like a child without answering anything?" He thereupon showed them a manuscript, which he read out before them all; but it was very coolly received. M. Arnauld, who did not care for praise, said, "I see that you do not approve of my composition, and I believe that you are right." Then, turning towards M. Pascal, "But you, sir, *you* ought to write something." M. Pascal wrote the first letter, and read it to them. M. Arnauld exclaimed, "This is excellent; this will take. You must get it printed." So it was. The event is well known; and they went on. M. Pascal, who had hired a house in Paris, took lodgings in an inn, at the sign of "King David," Rue des Poirées, in order to pursue his work. He assumed there another name. The place was exactly opposite the College de Clermont. M. Périer, his brother-in-law, visiting the metropolis about that time, put up at the same inn, without giving the people to understand what relation he was to Pascal. The first *Provincial Letter* had already created an intense sensation, when one day a Jesuit, Père de

Frétat, a friend of the Pascal family, called upon M. Périer, with another ecclesiastic belonging to the same order. After some conversation, the follower of Loyola began talking about the new and fearless champion of M. Arnauld and of Jansenism. "There is no doubt, whatever," said he to M. Périer, "but that M. Pascal is the author of those letters which are circulating in Paris. You ought to tell him that, and to prevail upon him to discontinue, for fear of some unpleasant results." "It is quite useless to do so," answered M. Périer; "M. Pascal will reply that he cannot prevent persons from suspecting whatever they please." "Well," replied P. de Frétat, as he left the room, "I give you fair warning, that's all."

M. Périer was very glad when the two priests went away, for there were on the bed about twenty copies of the seventh or eighth letter, which had been put there to dry; but the curtains were drawn, and the companion of P. de Frétat, although sitting quite close to the bed, had not observed the printed sheets. M. Périer went immediately to inform M. Pascal of what had just taken place. He was in the room above, and the Jesuits had no idea that their enemy stood so near.

The year 1656 will be for ever a memorable date in the history of French literature. That year saw the publication, pamphlet-wise and successively, of the famous letters which were known under the title of *Letters de Louis de Montalte à un provincial de ses amis, et aux Pères Jésuites, sur la morale et la*

*politique de ces Pères.* The first six letters were a complete defence of Arnauld. His apologist had carried the war into the enemy's camp, and the rapid, humorous, familiar expositions of the eccentric principles of their doctors on moral questions had delighted the public, and covered with the rankling wounds of ridicule that hitherto invulnerable body. It was then that the controversy took an ample range, and Pascal once more showed the versatility of his power. To him was reserved the honour of popularizing those universal longings for liberty and fair play, till then vaguely, indistinctly, manifesting themselves under various forms. To the mass of the French people it was comparatively a matter of very little moment whether the right of remonstrating against arbitrary taxation should be exercised with or without certain restrictions; but it was of the highest importance that the minority should not be condemned beforehand, and by prejudiced judges. To the mass of the French people it did not much signify whether the five propositions condemned in Jansenius were likewise discoverable in Arnauld's works; but it did signify, ay, and will signify for ever, whether doctrines are to be encouraged or not, which uphold falsehood, ecclesiastical tyranny, theft, and murder itself.

In this appears Pascal's wonderful skill. The first four *Provincial Letters* are devoted to the apology of Arnauld's tenets; but Louis de Montalte speedily shifts his ground, and, abandoning questions of a merely theological nature, he meets his oppo-

nents at a standpoint where the rightful indignation of offended mankind accompanies and encourages him.

Even as a mere literary character, Louis de Montalte was appreciated by his contemporaries. "The Jesuits themselves," says Father Daniel, "do justice to Pascal." Perrault, who endeavoured to cry up modern, at the expense of ancient, writers, prefers the *Provincial Letters* to the dialogues of Plato, Lucian, and Cicero. Madame de Sévigné cannot sufficiently express her admiration. The form under which Pascal's work was published gave rise to a thousand surmises, and exercised for some time all the gossiping disposition of the Parisians. M. de Gomberville was supposed to be the obnoxious author, and Madame Duplessis-Guénégaud of having caused the letters to be read aloud in her drawing-room before a company of *beaux-esprits*. Cardinal Mazarin, it seems, laughed very much at the question proposed by Caramuel—whether it was lawful for Jesuits to kill Jansenists. Now, this question happens to be the very one discussed in the letter which, as we have seen, was drying up, in all the glory of small pica, under the unsuspecting eye of Father de Frétat.

The destruction of the Jansenists and the closing of Port Royal was thoroughly resolved by Louis XIV., at the suggestion of the Jesuits; but in the interim a curious episode took place, which for a short time restored popularity to the persecuted party. One of Madame Périer's daughters, consequently a niece of

Jacqueline Pascal, had been suffering from a gathering on the eye, which likewise produced violent headache. From it she was, as Port Royal firmly believed, miraculously cured by the application of a sacred relic. Now, was it likely that so signal an interposition of Providence should have been vouchsafed to Jansenists, if they were, as their enemies represented them to be, heretics of the deepest and most dangerous dye? Such an objection had no force upon the Jesuits. They reminded their adversaries that all religious communities were bound to subscribe the "formulary" drawn up at the pope's command, and they placed them in the terrible position either of tampering with their own consciences if they subscribed the pope's declaration, or of bringing about their ruin if they did not. In this dreadful situation the thought of a compromise struck the firmest minds. A negotiation was opened with the Archbishop of Paris, for the purpose of obtaining from him a pastoral letter couched in moderate terms. Several meetings took place among the Jansenists; Pascal and Domat deciding against all compliance contrary to Christian truth and sincerity, whilst Nicole and Arnauld wrote in favour of conditional obedience. The authority of Arnauld especially carried along with it the votes of the majority. It is not too much to say that this decision was the death-blow to Jacqueline Pascal. Together with the Prioress of Port Royal, she set the example of dutiful obedience to the orders received from Rome, and three months after she was

lying in her grave (1661). The struggle between duty and affection had been too powerful. Blaise soon followed his sister (August 19, 1662), just two months after the completion of his thirty-ninth year. Mazarin was no more, and he left behind him a reputation which no clergyman, much less a cardinal, could be proud of.

We have thus given a brief sketch of the great question which occupied the Gallican Church during the early part of Louis XIV.'s reign; let us now turn to the practical side of our subject, and see how the dispensing of charities, alms, and assistance of every kind, building and maintaining of hospitals, were carried on. St. Vincent de Paul, who had done so much for the cause of Christian beneficence and for the relief of distress during Richelieu's administration, was as active as ever. There existed at that time in Paris a large hospital named *l'Hôtel Dieu*, which was thoroughly sufficient for its purpose when first founded, but had now become quite inadequate, owing to the frightful increase of pauperism resulting from the civil and foreign wars. St. Vincent de Paul contrived to interest Mazarin and the principal persons of the Court in the scheme for enlarging and improving the Hôtel Dieu; money was promised, the assistance of the State was obtained, and in the comparatively brief space of two years the work was finished. A commission of eminent laymen, amongst whom we must not forget the senior president, Pomponne de Bellièvre, had the direction and management of the institution, and

the sisters of charity were entrusted with the care of tending the sick and relieving the poor. The names of Madame de Polallion and Madame de Lamoignon deserve to be remembered in connection with this revival, which comprised refuges, associations for the relief of prisoners, missions, etc. We have said elsewhere that towards the beginning of the seventeenth century the Gallican clergy had become notorious for the laxity of their discipline, their ignorance, and their coarseness. One of the most crying wants of the day was the establishment of seminaries where candidates for holy orders would receive intellectual and moral training of the most thorough description. To the accomplishment of this task three excellent men applied all their energy—M. Bourdoise, M. Olier, and Jean Eudes, brother of the well-known historian, Mézeray. The first of these was distinguished more by his zeal and his ardent charity than by his intellectual powers. He had so exalted an idea of the priesthood that he determined upon devoting his whole time to raising it in the opinion of the people. The interests of the parishes where he successively resided he had made his own. He aimed at securing for distressed *curés* the means of maintaining themselves decently, and was so persistently begging on their behalf that he was nicknamed the *universal clerical solicitor*, or the *universal churchwarden*. To him the Gallican Church was indebted for the seminary of St. Nicolas du Chardonnet, which was officially acknowledged as the Paris diocesan theological college.

Of M. Olier, whom Bossuet calls "*Virum præstantissimum ac sanctitatis odore florentem*," it is well known that he refused the coadjutorship of the bishopric of Châlons-sur-Marne, so thoroughly convinced was he that teaching and the management of large schools were his vocation. He had founded a seminary at Vaugirard, then in the neighbourhood of Paris. Having been appointed to the cure of St. Sulpice, in the metropolis, he transferred thither his establishment, which was ever since considered as a model of what a theological school should be, and still subsists at the time when we are writing. Finally, the congregation of the *Eudistes* established at Rennes, and specially devoted to the work of missions, perpetuates the name of Father Eudes, one of the firmest friends and disciples of St. Vincent de Paul.

We cannot conclude this chapter without alluding, if we can do no more, to the important reform which took place in pulpit eloquence during the reign of Louis XIV. The brilliant and talented Fléchier, despite all his merits, was too much a follower of the Hôtel de Rambouillet to be quoted as a model of style and of taste; that honour was reserved for Bossuet and Bourdaloue, whose *débuts* as preachers correspond to the period of Mazarin's administration. The *Eagle of Meaux*, as Bossuet is still universally called, was essentially a Gallican, a prelate such as Richelieu would have delighted to honour. He disliked the Protestants, but he had no sympathy with the Molinists. He regarded Fénelon as a dangerous

character, but he dreaded still more the recluses of Port Royal. No excesses in any direction; such was his motto: *in medio tutissimus ibis.* "Two maladies equally dangerous," says he, in one of his sermons, "have afflicted in our days the body of the Church. Some doctors have adopted an unfortunate and inhuman kindness, a murderous pity which makes them accommodate themselves to the ways of sinners, try to discover excuses for their passions in order to condescend to their vanity, and flatter their feigned ignorance (*the Molinists*). Other theologians, not less extreme, have kept consciences captive under the most unjust severities. They cannot tolerate any weakness; they always drag down people after them, and thunder forth nothing but anathemas (*the Jansenists*). What terrible excesses, and what contrary errors! Blind children of men, whom the thirst for knowledge has precipitated into an abyss of ignorance, will you never find the middle course, where justice, truth, and right reason have established their throne?" *

If the name of Bossuet is always associated with the quality of genius, so that of Bourdaloue must ever remind us of logic, close reasoning, and method. He is a kind of French Isaac Barrow. At the same time, he shared all the prejudices of the Jesuits, and although he numbered amongst his friends persons who, like Boileau and Madame de Sévigné, were regarded as inclining to Port Royal, he treated Arnauld with a bitterness for which there can be no excuse,

* *Sermons.*

and which brought down upon him a severe but well-deserved reply.

By degrees the angry waves of theological controversy subsided; not spontaneously, alas! but under the pressure of the *Grand Monarque's* absolute will. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes on the one side, and the "Peace of Clement IX." on the other, brought about an artificial quiet which in the nature of things could not last long. Finally, a reaction took place equal in violence to the original cause, and which landed France into atheism and materialism.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE PROTESTANTS.

CARDINAL MAZARIN is reported to have said of the Protestants, "Le petit troupeau paît à l'écart et de mauvaises herbes, mais il paît paisiblement." This remark does not apply strictly to the early part of the minority of Louis XIV., and it would have been impossible to expect absolute quiet from a party which had everything to dread at the beginning of a new administration, and especially at the death of such a man as Richelieu. Would Mazarin continue his predecessor's policy? Would he increase its severity, and endeavour to conciliate the Roman Catholics by persecuting the religious minority? At the time when the Paris Parliament on the one side, and the nobility on the other, were preparing to destroy the work of Richelieu, surely it was a matter of necessity that the Protestants should hold themselves ready for every emergency, at least till the minister had given satisfactory proofs of the spirit of toleration by which he proposed to be guided. We are quite ready to acknowledge that

when the *Fronde* broke out, the Huguenots refused to join it; but it was not so at the commencement of Anne of Austria's regency, and we have the authority of Grotius, then ambassador of Sweden at the court of France, to show that there were several attempts at a rebellion in the provinces of Lower Poitou, Aunis, Saintonge, and Vivarais. Some of the Protestant leaders wished to reconquer their places of safety, and to vindicate their political rights. They had for a long time kept up an active correspondence with foreign nations, and a certain De Couvrelles is said to have journeyed to and fro between England and France, with the view of preparing a general rising in Lower Poitou. To the evidence of Grotius we must add that of the Venetian ambassador Giustiniani, who distinctly alludes to a longing on the part of the Protestants to obtain once more possession of the churches which Richelieu had wrested from them. These designs not only annoyed the Court, but created amongst the Roman Catholics a feeling of dissatisfaction. A day of fasting and of public prayer had been ordered by the synods of the Reformed Churches in England, the Netherlands, and France; the Catholics (June, 1643), irritated at this, resolved upon striking terror into the hearts of the Protestants, and the Paris mob rushed *en masse* towards the church of Charenton, where the dissenters used to meet for public worship. The demonstration increased as the populace went along, and the Protestant noblemen, together with their servants, drawing their swords, prepared for the

attack which they believed must come sooner or later. The queen foresaw that, unless prompt and strict measures were taken, shedding of blood must necessarily take place; she sent, therefore, an officer of the guards to restore confidence to the Huguenots. But these mistook him for an enemy, and nearly put him to death, together with a priest named Véron, who used to attend the dissenting service for the purpose of following the controversial discussions started by the French *pasteurs*. This slight success so encouraged the leaders of the mob that a riot was imminent, and the presence of an obscure officer could have no weight in enforcing obedience. The Duke de Montbazon, Governor of Paris, received orders to go to Charenton at the head of a company of the Swiss guards. He was directed to calm the fears of the Huguenots, and to make them understand that, far from wishing to crush them out of the kingdom, the Queen's purpose was to protect them against the threats of the populace. The Duke de Montbazon was successful in his mission, and he brought the Protestants back to Paris under the protection of the royal forces.

In all this business, Mazarin followed strictly Richelieu's policy. He aimed at convincing the Protestants that his deliberate purpose was to allow them full liberty of conscience; at the same time, he did his best to win over the principal amongst their leaders to the Catholic religion. He succeeded with Rantzau and several others; but he failed to convince Gassion and Châtillon. The former of these

two generals was one of the most distinguished men of his time; we have already seen that he contributed particularly to the victory of Rocroy. Mazarin suspected him, and ordered some of his friends to watch closely, lest he should make some attempt at raising the standard of rebellion on behalf of the Huguenots. The fact is, that Gassion, although very far from sympathizing with the *Fronde*, was a man of the most independent character. He ventured to think that the cardinal, excellent diplomatist as he was, had not the talents of a warrior, and that his plans of campaign were open to criticism. Then why must he correspond with the Protestants abroad—the English Parliament and the States-general in Holland? Surely this betokened the desire to secure a principality and a political status which might help him to become a second Rohan. He died just in time to escape the storm which was thickening against him, and if he was not regretted by the courtiers, the whole of the French army, more especially the officers who had fought under him, were loud in the expression of their grief. Madame de Motteville says in her memoirs that even the private soldiers felt that they had lost in him a true friend.

Turenne, as we all know, yielded finally to the seductions with which the king surrounded him; but at the time about which we are writing he was still a Huguenot, and therefore a cause of great anxiety to Mazarin, who suspected him, like Gassion, of entertaining ambitious views, and of plotting

against the safety of the State. The best way of stopping all these schemes was plainly to show to the Protestants that so long as they observed the edicts and laws promulgated in their favour by previous kings, they might reckon upon the clemency and the justice of the Crown. Anxious to make matters perfectly clear on that point, Mazarin wrote on the subject both to the Protestants and to the Catholics. The correspondent whom he selected amongst the former was the old Duke de Caumont la Force, (§) who, born in 1558, was now the senior representative of the Huguenots, and would be the most likely person to give them good advice, and to keep them in the path of duty. Despite Mazarin's conciliatory disposition, the Huguenots for a long time maintained a position of distrust. They could not easily forget the past, and they listened greedily to the most idle stories which were circulated as to the intentions of the Government. It was widely reported and generally believed that a massacre such as the one of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, was about to take place, and a civil war must needs follow. The cardinal thought it necessary to write on that subject to Brasset, resident of France at the Hague, a letter which may appropriately be quoted. "The calumny about the massacre," says he, "supposed to be meditated in France against the *religionnaires*, is so absurd that I need not reply to it. It is impracticable in the first place, and the previous one was odious, and produced the greatest evils. Further, it can be plainly seen that his Majesty

makes no distinction between his subjects; both parties are extremely faithful to him, and continually shed their blood for him with equal zeal. At this present moment his Majesty's armies in Germany are commanded by two generals belonging to that religion which, it is asserted, will soon be destroyed; * one of the armies in Flanders has also a Huguenot as its leader." † There is no reason to suppose that Mazarin aimed at deceiving the Huguenots previous to destroying them; such a course would have been contrary to all the rules of sound policy.

When Louis XIV. ascended the throne, "the Protestants," says Benoit,‡ "wanted nothing but to live quietly, and would have been only too glad to enjoy in peace the few remaining rights secured to them by the edicts. Nothing was left to them of what had formerly made them so redoubtable; and, far from being anxious to take up arms, they hardly dared to present petitions for the purpose of complaining when they were subjected to annoying and petty vexations." The sole guarantee they had was the Edict of Nantes, and already the principal articles of that edict had been seriously modified, in anticipation of its being entirely cancelled. Trusting, however, to promises often repeated, and taught, perhaps, by bitter experience, they firmly refused to take any share in the wars of the *Fronde*, and to avail themselves of the help offered by foreign powers in case they felt tempted once more to try the fortune of arms.

* Turenne and D'Erlach. † Gassion.

‡ *Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes.*

The loyalty manifested by the Huguenots deserved and obtained a suitable recognition on the part of the Government. There is no doubt, too, that Mazarin was afraid of Cromwell's displeasure, should he make an attempt upon the rights and privileges of the religious minority; at any rate, it is not too much to say that the cardinal's conduct towards the Protestants contrasted favourably with that of Henry IV. himself. Not only did they obtain from him a fresh confirmation of the Edict of Nantes, but also the radiation of all the laws and measures contrary to that edict. By a decree dated from St. Germain-en-Laye, May 28, 1652, Louis XIV. positively said, "Whereas our subjects belonging to the R. P. R. (*Religion prétendue réformée*) have given us certain proofs of their affection and fidelity, especially in the present circumstances, of which we are highly satisfied, we make it known that for these reasons, and taking into consideration the very humble petition addressed to us on behalf of our aforesaid subjects professing the R. P. R., and after having caused this case to be deliberated in our presence and in our council, we, acting on the opinion of our council, and of our certain science and royal authority, have said, declared, and commanded, and do say, declare, and command, and we will and it pleases us that our aforesaid subjects of the R. P. R. should be maintained and preserved, as we do, in fact, maintain and preserve them, in the full and entire enjoyment of the Edict of Nantes, and the other edicts, decrees, declarations, orders, etc., given

on their behalf, and registered in the parliaments and *chambres de l'édit*, chiefly as far as concerns the free and public exercise of the aforesaid religion in all places where it has been previously granted by these edicts, notwithstanding all letters and orders emanating either from our council or from the sovereign courts, and all other decrees to the contrary; and we will that all persons disobeying our aforesaid edicts should be punished and chastised as disturbers of the public peace."

Such is the famous declaration of 1652, which, as our readers may well suppose, called forth the bitterest remonstrances on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy. Mazarin was obliged to recall it four years afterwards; but, at the same time, he promised expressly to the Protestants that he would send into the provinces two commissioners, the one Catholic, and the other belonging to the minority, whose business it would be to examine jointly the complaints addressed to the Government by *Messieurs de la* R. P. R., and to see that the edicts were faithfully observed.

Under the administration of the cardinal, the Huguenots were eligible to all employments and offices, both civil and military; but they saw themselves deprived of one of their most valued rights, namely, that of convening their synods for the purpose of discussing ecclesiastical matters, and settling points of faith and Church discipline. Such assemblies are absolutely necessary, we need hardly say, nor can we conceive the existence of any

corporate body, either political, religious, or merely literary and scientific, without deliberations held from time to time on the points or subjects for which these bodies are elected. It is clear, however, that the dread of Cromwell's influence over the Protestant Churches abroad was the real cause of this measure, and although the holding of the national synods was not absolutely prohibited at first, yet an interval of fifteen years elapsed between the assembling of the first one convoked after the death of Louis XIII (1644) and the one which took place during Mazarin's tenure of office (1659) at Loudun. In the meanwhile, the Roman Catholic clergy, seeing the evident disposition of Louis XIV. to establish in his kingdom, *coûte que coûte*, uniformity of religion, had begun a regular campaign against the Huguenots, and in their general assembly of 1656 they gave a kind of foretaste of their intentions. They had a prodigious hold upon the Crown by the financial assistance they could give to it in the shape of *dons gratuits*, subsidies, and other fines, amounting to considerable sums of money. This enabled them to purchase, if we may so say, the rights and privileges of the unfortunate Huguenots, and ruin them by degrees. One of the first steps in that direction was the suppression of the *colloques*, or subordinate conferences, held in various parts of the country from time to time, and which were of an informal character. The reason alleged for doing away with them was that, not being held in the presence of a royal commissioner, they might easily degenerate

into political assemblies. The Synod of Loudun was the last one convened on a large scale and having the stamp of a *national* gathering. It took place in 1659. The unfortunate Protestants had long wished to bring their complaints before the king, but they could no more do so. From year to year the meeting of a synod was purposely put off. At last the Reformed Churches determined upon sending to Paris ten deputies commissioned to state their grievances to Louis XIV. They had to wait for months before a hearing was granted to them, and, when they were admitted into the royal presence, it was to hear the following dry and haughty answer:—"I shall examine your petition, and do you justice."

Measures such as these, iniquitous in their character and deplorable in their results, were not calculated to allay the animosity which had so long been prevailing between the Roman Catholics and their religious adversaries. Even independently of the king's will and of the minister's own private feelings, the parliaments, the magistrates, the *intendants*, the various corporations never lost an opportunity of showing their hatred of what they called heresy. In the army and navy, even at Court, the two religions lived harmoniously together; but the body of the nation was essentially Romanist, and the spirit of the old *Leaguers* animated them as much as ever; and, let us add, if the hatred of the Catholics for the Protestants was intense, it was reciprocated to the full by the members of the

R. P. R., the only difference being, that whereas in the first case it could and did assume an open form, in the latter one it was obliged to conceal itself as much as it could. At this distance of time we are at a loss to understand how the Protestant ministers, instead of doing their best to smooth away the difficulties which separated the two Churches from one another, and of furthering the work of Christian charity, were imprudent enough to make the chasm wider still, and to answer by the grossest insults to the attacks of their adversaries. We say *imprudent*, because, as we may well suppose, the extraordinary difference between their social position and that of the Roman Catholics could not but be obvious to them. The Gallican clergy was the first body in the State; the situation they, the Huguenots, held was the result of a most precarious and uncertain toleration. The Established Church, through the medium of their assemblies, granted subsidies to the Crown; the Protestants, on the contrary, were paid by the king, and had to look to him for the means of defraying their own personal expenses, and those necessitated by the holding of the synods and *colloques*. The struggle, therefore, was strangely unequal, and the most elementary prudence would have suggested on the part of the minority moderation and quiet. Mazarin did not live long enough to see the fatal revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but he witnessed the odious measures which preceded it, and he sanctioned a number of acts calculated to prepare the way for one of the most disastrous forms of despotism that history has ever had to register.

The holding of the Synod of Loudun marks a distinct epoch in the history of the Huguenots. We shall, therefore, give a somewhat detailed account of it. The session was opened by a speech delivered by the royal commissioner, M. de la Magdelaine. He began by remarking on the king's extreme condescension in allowing discussions on a religion which he and the majority of his subjects disapproved, and he recommended the ministers to keep strictly within the limits of moderation whenever they addressed the public. "You are expressly prohibited," added he, "from making use of the word *antichrist* either in your sermons or your writings, whenever you allude to the pope; neither may you say of the Catholics that they are *idolaters;* nor may you speak in scandalous and insulting terms of the Catholic religion, as to say that it is an abuse and a deceit of the devil, or other such expressions which are to be found in your confession of faith." And before concluding his speech, he added—

"His Majesty having considered that a national synod cannot be held without great expense, and without entailing much trouble and difficulty to those who have to attend it; and forasmuch as many questions and affairs can be settled more easily and cheaply in provincial synods, which his Majesty allows to be held once a year, for the purpose of preserving the discipline of the churches belonging to the R. P. R.; for these reasons, gentlemen, his Majesty has thought fit that I should propose to you, on his

behalf, the following:—to wit, that you should in future give to all the provincial synods the power of taking due cognizance of all matters happening in the provinces, the decision of which formerly belonged to the national assemblies, with a view to settling and concluding them; for his Majesty has decided that no national synod should be summoned henceforward, except when deemed expedient by him."

The effect produced by this address upon the assembled Huguenots can easily be imagined. De la Magdelaine himself had some difficulty in concealing his sorrow. He made his fellow-religionists thoroughly understand that, having lost their military power and the fortresses which in days gone by were their trust, the good-will and pleasure of the king was the only guarantee of their existence, and that perfect submission to orders from the Court was absolutely necessary.

The moderator of the synod was the celebrated Daillé. After expressing, in his answer to the royal commissioner, the hope that his Majesty would reconsider his resolution of doing away with the national synods, he thus continued:

"With reference to the discreet and moderate conduct expected from our ministers in the discharge of their pastoral duties, in the books they publish for the defence of our religion, and in their sermons on the same subject, our fathers have laid such stress on Christian charity, even before the practice of our religion was allowed by the edicts, and in the

very midst of the persecution from which we were suffering, that, by a most express article of our discipline, they have forbidden the use of insulting expressions and the utterance of the slightest reproach which might embitter men's minds; so that, the times during which we are called to live being much more calm and peaceful, thanks to God's grace and to the goodness of our king, his Majesty may be fully persuaded that he will always find us perfectly obedient in this respect, and our moderation may serve as an example to others. And it were much to be wished that the preachers of the Romish Church would be equally circumspect; we should not be then continually torn to pieces as we are now, both in their sermons and in their writings. But with reference to the word *antichrist*, which occurs in our liturgy, and to those of *idolatry* and *deceits of Satan*, which are to be found in our confession of faith, they are expressions denoting the reason and cause of our separation from the Church of Rome; they account for the doctrine which our forefathers maintained in the most cruel times, and which we have resolved, at their example, never to forsake, the grace of God helping us, but to preserve and retain faithfully and strenuously to the very last moment of our lives."

We have seen what were the views of the Government delegates respecting the Huguenots; it would now be curious to examine the intentions of the king himself, and to ascertain, if possible, the principle which actuated him in his dealings with them. This

we fortunately can do from his journal and memoirs, published some years ago in a complete and accurate form by M. Charles Dreyss. Let us remember that Louis XIV. is supposed to be addressing his son, the Dauphin.

"And with respect to that great number of my subjects belonging to the R. P. R., an evil which I have always looked upon and still look upon with grief, I formed already then the plan of all my dealings towards them—plan which I have no reason to regard as a failure, since it has pleased God that it should be followed everywhere, as it is still, by a great number of conversions.

"It seems to me, my son, that those who wished to employ violent remedies did not know the nature of this evil, which is partly caused by the excitement of the public mind. Now, we must let that excitement pass away and dwindle off by degrees, instead of exciting it by contradictions equally violent; these contradictions, besides, are always useless when the taint of corruption is not limited to a certain number of well-known persons, but when it is spread throughout the State . . .

". . . Knowing generally, as I did, the causes of this movement, I thought, my son, that the best way to reduce gradually the Huguenots of my kingdom into submission was, in the first place, not to vex them at all by any fresh rigour against them, to enforce the observance of what they had obtained from my predecessors; but, on the other hand, to grant nothing to them beyond, and even to restrict

the execution of these privileges within the narrowest limits that justice and propriety can allow.

"As for the graces which depended on me alone, I resolved, and I have since punctually acted according to this resolution, not to bestow any upon them, not out of bitterness, but out of kindness; so that they might be led on to consider from time to time, spontaneously and calmly, whether it was for some good reason that they willingly deprived themselves of the advantages which they might enjoy in common with my other subjects.

"In the meanwhile, that they might profit by the condition in which they were of listening more willingly than in days of yore to what could undeceive them, I resolved also to attract even by rewards those who would become docile. I excited the bishops as much as I could, to work for the instruction of the religious minority, and to remove the scandals which sometimes kept the dissenters away from us. Finally, I determined to appoint to principal places and to all the offices of which I have the nomination, for any reason or motive whatever, only persons of piety, of diligence, and of learning, capable of putting, by their conduct, an end to the scandals which their predecessors had chiefly brought into the Church." *

We who are thoroughly acquainted with the dealings of Louis XIV. towards the unfortunate Huguenots, and who have learnt from the pages of history the systematic course of persecution adopted

* *Mémoires de Louis XIV.*, vol. ii. pp. 454, 456.

with the view of stamping them out, know what to think of the above statement. The king may have been sincere when he made it, but, under the influence of the Jesuits, he was soon carried beyond the bounds of even comparative moderation, and after the death of Mazarin the tide of persecution broke loose with unabated fury. A celebrated historian has given us in the following summary a sketch which it is worth while meditating.

"The Court did all that can be imagined to make proselytes—favours bestowed upon the new converts; exemptions granted to others from taxes, contributions, and assessments of every kind; delays for payment of debts; liberation even from paternal rights, and leave to marry, notwithstanding the will of Calvinist parents; preference as to the admission to offices in the magistracy, finances, trade, and even military posts.

"To these privileges granted to the new converts succeeded exclusions for those who persisted in their *errors*. In the first instance, they were simply prohibited from being admitted to any public, lucrative, or even merely honourable functions, either as town councillors, or as judges, teachers, or mechanics. The next step was to compel those who had been appointed to such posts to vacate them. . . . The farming of the taxes was no longer accessible to them, even in the humblest offices to which they might previously have pretended; their names were struck off the University books, the registers of the royal establishment, the lists of persons attached to the

household of the princes and other members of the royal family. Not only the officers, but even their *rebellious* widows and children were deprived of the pensions, honours, patents of nobility, and other distinctions usually attached to these places. Finally, the persons belonging to the R. P. R. were no longer allowed to practise publicly as doctors, surgeons, apothecaries, or, in the case of women, as midwives.

"So long as the pastors were left alone, it was not much use persecuting the flocks; but the time had not yet come to proscribe them. They were, in the first instance, merely subjected to petty annoyances in their persons and the discharge of their duties. No foreigners could be admitted to the ministry. The pastors might no longer wear the clerical dress, take part in public affairs, style themselves *ministers of the Word of God*, designate their religion as the *reformed one*, unless they added the epithet *so-called*. They could not act in a corporate capacity, even for the purpose of doing honour to persons of distinction and addressing them. They were not allowed to have in their churches raised benches or seats for the magistrates belonging to their religion; neither might they adorn those seats with tapestry bearing the royal escutcheon or the coat-of-arms of the city. They could not escort such persons as they either entered or left the church. No pastor could celebrate divine service except in the parish in which he had been appointed; nor were any annexes allowed; nor could they preach anywhere but in the consecrated buildings; nor could they discharge the duties of

their ministry more than three consecutive years in the same place. No visits to the poor nor to the prisons were permitted, lest the persons thus visited should be induced to remain in the *errors* of Protestantism; no allusion to the Roman Catholic faith in the sermons or homilies. Baptisms, marriages, and burials were to be celebrated quickly, and so as to give no dignity to the office of the pastor."

As for the consistories and synods, we have already stated the measures taken to render them less frequent. "Further, the commissioners sent by the Government were selected amongst the severest. They inquired carefully about the subjects under discussion, and prevented, according to their own caprice, inquiry as to certain matters. No collections, distribution of charities, or other like financial measures, were allowed, and legacies made to the Protestant consistories were transferred to Roman Catholic hospitals. With regard to the credit and influence resulting from learning and intellectual culture, it was suppressed as much as possible by the destruction of several celebrated schools and academies, such as that of Sédan; nor could the Protestant pastors teach languages, philosophy, or divinity.

"Compelled, in towns, to respect the Catholic rites and ceremonies, to abstain from work of every kind on saints' days, to bow and take their hats off before the Host when it was carried through the streets, obliged to hide themselves, and to conform to certain practices which they could not con-

scientiously adopt, many Huguenots took refuge in the provinces, where the noblemen belonging to their faith allowed them the permission of attending divine service in the baronial chapel; but here again restrictions and annoyances of every kind awaited them. In some localities the number of persons admitted to public worship was limited; in others, the lord of the manor himself found his right to have a private chapel contested, and upwards of seven hundred of these buildings were destroyed before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes." *

In 1661, the very year of Mazarin's death, we find the mention of several edicts and decrees of the most inquisitorial character, and which give an accurate idea of the *Grand Monarque's* policy towards the Protestants. *January* 25.—Pastors may not address words of consolation to the prisoners, except in a low tone of voice. *March* 17.—The Psalms of David may not be sung or chanted elsewhere but in places of worship. *March* 24.—Orders for the maintenance of converted minors shall be executed and carried out, notwithstanding all protest and opposition. *Same date.*—No mark or sign of public worship is allowed in the houses of *gentilshommes*. *December* 15.—The singing of Psalms prohibited under a penalty of 500 livres, etc.

Thus deprived of the right of holding public offices and dignities, shut out from the universities, the bar, the bench, the army, and the navy, the

* Anquetil, quoted by Mess. Haag, *La France Protestante*, Introduction.

Huguenots threw all their energy into the walks of trade, commerce, manufactures, and industry. The evidence of their success in that respect is so overwhelming, and has so often been insisted upon already, that it is almost unnecessary to draw the attention of our readers to it again. A quotation from the book of Mr. Smiles may not, however, be out of place here.

"They (the Huguenots) were acknowledged to be the best agriculturists, wine-growers, merchants, and manufacturers in France. . . . In Languedoc, the cantons inhabited by the Protestants, were the best cultivated and most productive. . . . The valley of Vaunage, in the diocese of Nismes, where they had more than sixty temples, was celebrated for the richness of its vegetation, and was called by its inhabitants 'the Little Canaan.' The vine-dressers of Berry and the Pays Messin, on the Moselle, restored those districts to more than their former prosperity; and the diligence, skill, and labour with which they subdued the stubborn soil, and made it yield its increase of flowers and fruits, and corn and wine, bear witness in all quarters to the toil and energy of the men of religion.

"The Huguenots of the towns were similarly industrious and enterprising. At Lyons and Tours they prosecuted the silk-manufacture with great success, making taffetas, velvets, brocades, ribbons, and cloths of gold and silver, of finer qualities than were then produced in any other country in Europe. They also carried on the manufacture of fine cloth

in various parts of France, and exported the article in large quantities to Germany, Spain, and England. They established magnificent linen-manufactories at Vire, Falaise, and Argentan in Normandy; manufactories of bleached cloth in Morlaix, Landernau, and Brest; and manufactories of sail-cloth at Rennes, Nantes, and Vitré in Brittany;—great parts of whose produce was exported to Holland and England.

"The Huguenots also carried on large manufactories of paper in Auvergne and the Angoumois. In the latter province they had no less than six hundred paper-mills, and the article they produced was the best of its kind in Europe. The mills at Ambert supplied the paper on which the choicest books which emanated from the presses of Paris, as well as Amsterdam and London, were printed. The celebrated leather of Touraine, and the fine hats of Caudebec, were almost exclusively produced by the Protestant manufacturers, who also successfully carried on, at Sédan, the fabrication of articles of iron and steel, which were exported abroad in large quantities." *

All these advantages, all the benefits accruing from honest and intelligent industry, were cast aside and thrown away by a fanatic and ignorant monarch for the sake of obtaining a forced and artificial uniformity in matters pertaining to religion.

We must now say a few words about the intellectual condition of the Huguenots, and show how, as preachers and theologians, they compared with the

* Smiles, *The Huguenots*, pp. 156–158.

divines of the Roman Catholic Church. The celebrated academies of Sédan, Saumur, and Montauban were at that time the centres from which came forth ministers equally experienced in Biblical literature, in exegesis, and in the difficult art of homiletical composition. Limiting ourselves, for the present, to this last part of our subject, we may remark, with the late M. Vinet, that although the French Protestantism of the seventeenth century lived as a kind of exile in the country which gave it birth, it contributed to the general greatness of the age of Louis XIV.; it is even no exaggeration to say that Catholicism was indebted to Protestantism for part of its glory. Had it not been for the Reformation, France of the seventeenth century would have had not only neither Abbadie nor Saurin, but neither Bossuet nor Fénelon nor Pascal. If we review the preachers, there is no doubt that the masters of pulpit eloquence belonged to the Gallican Church; but, as it would be unfair to conclude from the exceptional wealth of a few individuals to the prosperity of a whole nation, so it is impossible to measure the intellectual superiority of an epoch by the overwhelming prominence of a handful of men of genius.

One thing is quite clear. From the point of view of style, the Huguenot preachers were decidedly inferior to the pulpit orators in the Roman Catholic Church; nor need we be surprised at this fact. Men such as Mestrezat, Daillé, Le Faucheur were not surrounded by those circumstances which tend to

form the taste and to develop the habit of elegant writing. They had not, like Bossuet, Fléchier, and Bourdaloue, the privilege of breathing the atmosphere of the Court, and of studying refinement in the *salons* of Versailles. The Protestant Church, says M. Vinet, formed a distinct republic, having its own traditions, its own habits—nay, even its own language, solemn and simple, as it best becomes a persecuted Church. The Huguenot preachers followed D'Aubigné's recommendation: "Let us render our style of writing venerable." Such a quality is better than beauty, no doubt; but, we must confess, beauty was entirely deficient. Bossuet said of Calvin that "his style was *triste*." He might have applied this remark to the majority of the Huguenot preachers; but whereas Calvin is always eloquent, they often lack that quality. Their gravity is bare; it knows nothing of the graces of imagination. In their present position, in their past vicissitudes, and in their anticipations for the future, there was no element which could enliven their style.*

Biblical orthodoxy, an analytical method strictly applied to the expounding of the text, theology properly so called uniformly usurping the place of moral and practical illustrations, the spirit of controversy carried out with great skill and often too much bitterness—such are the qualities we find in the Huguenot preachers. Literary talent came in by degrees, and the long series of celebrated divines

* A. Vinet, *Histoire de la Prédication parmi les Réformés de France.*

which begins with Du Moulin offers us a steady and notable progress till we reach Saurin, who has been justly designated the "Bossuet of the Protestant pulpit." If we think for a moment of the state in which the Church was during the reign of Louis XIV., we cannot be astonished at seeing the importance attached then to controversial writing and controversial preaching; the unfortunate Huguenots were obliged to be constantly on the breach, defending the principles of their faith against the most distinguished divines of the Romish Church. As the safest and easiest way to preferment then was to have defeated, or to be supposed to have defeated, in discussion one of the ministers of the R. P. R., the discussions were incessant, and the spirit of animosity thus engendered extremely bitter. Amyraut had to carry on a controversy with the Jesuit Audebert; Ancillon, with the Sorbonist Bédacier; De l'Angle, Samuel Bochart, and many others, with Father Véron. As usual, both sides claimed the victory; but the Roman Catholics, taking unfair advantage of the favour bestowed upon them by the Government, not unfrequently had recourse to such calumnious attacks that on one occasion, at any rate—namely, when Bochart had to discuss with Véron—the Rouen Parliament felt bound to interfere, and obliged the priest to silence by virtue of a decree couched in the severest terms. The *odium theologicum* prevailed not only between Romanists and Huguenots, but between the representatives of conflicting opinion in the Protestant Church—Gomarists and

Arminians, Remonstrants and counter-Remonstrants, Universalists and Predestinarians. We shall not enter into the painful and tedious details of all these discussions; we would simply enumerate the chief Huguenot preachers during the administration of Cardinal Mazarin. La Faucheur and Mestrezat were patterns of close reasoning and of argumentative powers; their style is somewhat archaic, but their knowledge of the Bible is unrivalled. Daillé, the greatest controversialist since Calvin, has something in common with the Louis de Montalte of the *Provincial Letters:* he is familiar without being vulgar, serious without being dull, and he writes not for theologians only, but for persons moving in polite society; he chats rather than preaches; he wishes to appeal to as large a circle of readers as possible. Jean Claude may be considered as the first preacher who, by the elegance of his style, his taste, and his method, deserves to take rank amongst the best writers of the "*grand siècle.*" His controversy with Bossuet does not belong to the Mazarin period; but he had to fight against both Jesuits and Jansenists, and the former, with the view of damaging the latter, helped to circulate in the public Claude's answer to the treatise entitled *De la perpécuité de la foi su l'Eucharistie,* which was the joint work of Arnauld and Nicole. When we have named Pierre Du Bosc we shall have completed the list of all the principal pulpit orators who, in the bosom of the Huguenot Church, flourished during the first half of the reign of Louis XIV. We must not forget,

however, that, besides homiletic literature, the various branches of erudition, science, and metaphysics were cultivated by the French Protestants. We have already named Samuel Bochart, the learned author of the *Phaleg*, the *Canaan*, and the *Hierozoicon;* Aubertin, Blondel, and Daillé deserve likewise to be remembered as Church historians and scholars acquainted with all the mysteries of patristic lore.

The Basnage family naturally calls for a distinct mention here; with them genius and intellectual superiority seem to have been in a certain manner hereditary, beginning with Benjamin, who not only held with great success the office of *pasteur* in Normandy, but deserved, by his firmness, tact, and gentleness combined, to be selected as moderator and deputy in several synods. The second son of this illustrious man, Basnage de Franquesney, was one of the most distinguished barristers at the Rouen Parliament, and had so won the respect both of Catholics and of Protestants, that on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, notwithstanding his unflinching attachment to Protestantism, he was allowed to carry on his profession without let or hindrance.

It is sufficient to name Bayle and Jurieu to remind our readers of the share which the Huguenots had in creating periodical literature, and in setting the example of pointed and effective criticism; but, further, they are identified in our mind with that bitter campaign against the despotism of Louis XIV. which the exiled Protestants carried out so per-

sistently in the shape of pamphlets and lampoons of every description. Vainly did the *Grand Monarque* endeavour to believe that his measures were crowned with success, that all opposition was silenced, and that public opinion abroad could not reach his disaffected subjects at home. From the Hague, from Amsterdam, Leyden, and Rotterdam, fly-sheets, printed in large quantities, were smuggled across the northern frontier, and found their way even to Paris. Of course the danger of circulating such productions was great. The grim Bastille, from which Mademoiselle de Montpensier fired upon the royal troops, was there ready to receive the malcontents, whether Jansenists or Protestants, schismatics or heretics; but still, there were many noble-minded persons whom the police of Louis XIV. did not appal, and who never hesitated when the question arose of denouncing tyranny and injustice.

## CHAPTER IX.

### LITERATURE.

THE administration of Cardinal Richelieu had marked in the history of French literature an epoch of originality and of true genius which continued during Mazarin's government, and was maintained till the era of political despotism inaugurated by Louis XIV. seemed fully and definitely established. M. Michelet, in his usual brilliant manner, thus sketches the principal characteristics of the intellectual movement brought about by the *Fronde*:—

"To forget, to laugh at everything, to suffer without seeking any remedy for one's sufferings, to turn one's self into ridicule, and to die laughing, such was France in those days. Songs continue, and comedy is forthcoming. Our great consolers are our comic writers. This instrument, the new French language, born of the *Mazarinades*, appears already there, full of point and of vivacity. We find it also in the *Roman Comique*, and the *Memoirs of Cardinal de Retz*, which were certainly begun at Vincennes (1652). It is soon to break forth in the

pages of the biting, powerful, triumphant pamphlet of the religious *Fronde*—the *Provincial Letters* (1657). *Tartuffe* is already near at hand (1664).

"The splendid vigorous idiom of the sixteenth century, which so frequently springs from the heart, was oftentimes pedantic. It got, as it were, entangled in the folds of its dress, and was encumbered by the asperities (picturesque and admirable, it is true) with which it bristles. It was not the language of persons in a hurry, of business men, of warriors aiming at striking promptly, and requiring from language nothing but vigour and quietness.

"Here is the serious character of the *Fronde;* . . . it created the new French idiom. This idiom underwent a kind of chemical transformation. It was solid; it became fluid. Hardly fit for circulation, it moved about in a rough, strong, and stately manner. But behold, now liquefied, so to say, it runs hither and thither, light, rapid, and warm, admirably clear. If a few capricious writers (Montesquieu, La Bruyère) illustrate more especially its brilliant qualities, the main stream, easy and pure, runs on from De Retz to Madame de Sévigné, and from Madame de Sévigné to Voltaire.

"It is the *Fronde* which produced this language; hence Voltaire, the gigantic journalist. Voltaire in his turn made the periodical press, and may be considered as the father of modern newspaper writing." *

Notwithstanding a few exaggerations such as we

* Michelet, *Richelieu et la Fronde*, pp. 289, 290. Edition of 1874.

are accustomed to find in M. Michelet's works, the above sketch is tolerably accurate. But we must now come to details; and, in the first place, let us note the attitude which Cardinal Mazarin assumed towards literature and literary men. It was a deep political idea which suggested to him, as it had to his predecessor, the importance of appearing as an enlightened patron of intellectual greatness. He knew full well what, later on, Lord Chesterfield seemed to ignore in England—that, after all, literature is a power in the State. We have already alluded to Mazarin's famous library, collected at a great expense by Gabriel Naudé. It was frequented at that time by a number of illustrious men. In his well-known and often-quoted *Mascurat,* Naudé himself remarks, "When it (the library) was open every Thursday, more than eighty or one hundred persons might be seen studying there together, and on other days it was generally frequented by many persons of merit." Gassendi, Sirmond, Launoi, Ismaël Bouillaud, Aubry, Chantereau Lefèvre, D'Ablancourt, Grotius, are only a few names taken from a long list of *savants* quoted by Naudé as habitually availing themselves of the intellectual resources placed by the cardinal's enlightened liberality at the disposal of the learned.

The opera is a creation for which France was indebted to Cardinal Mazarin, and which presented to the admiration of the public the happy combination of literature with the fine arts. In 1647, the lyric drama, *Orphée et Eurydice,* was brought out, and

on that occasion the celebrated poet, Voiture, composed the following sonnet:—

"Quelle docte Circé, quelle nouvelle Armide
Fait paraître à nos yeux ces miracles divers?
Et depuis quand les corps, par le vague des airs,
Savent-ils s'élever d'un mouvement rapide?

"Où l'on voyoit l'azur de la campagne humide,
Naissent des fleurs sans nombre, et des ombrages verts;
Des globes étoilés les palais sont ouverts,
Et les gouffres profonds de l'empire liquide.

"Dedans un même temps nous voyons mille lieux,
Des ports, des ponts, des tours, des jardins spacieux,
Et dans un même lieu cent scènes différentes.

"Quels honneurs te sont dûs, grand et divin prélat,
Qui fait que désormais tant de faces changeantes
Sont dessus le théâtre et non pas dans l'état."

The opera—the *Comédie à machines*, as it was called—must have struck Frenchmen with mixed surprise and delight, and the fact that such a poet as Corneille did not disdain to write a *libretto* for some well-known musician gave to that style of composition a literary stamp which Quinault subsequently enhanced and confirmed. The author of the *Cid* dedicated, in addition, his tragedy of Pompey to the cardinal minister, as a mark of gratitude for a present he had received from the statesman—a present so much the more gratifying because Corneille had done nothing whatever to obtain it. "Monseigneur," says the poet in his dedicatory epistle, "I introduce the greatest man of old Rome (Pompey) to the most illustrious of the new one. . . . The solidity of your prudence and the clearness of your

discernment produce resolutions so advantageous for the Government, that it seems as if Virgil was thinking of you when, inspired by the spirit of prophecy, he said, more than sixteen hundred years ago—

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento."

The principal plays which Corneille wrote between 1642 and 1661 (the period of Mazarin's administration) are the following:—*Le Menteur* (1642), *La Suite du Menteur* (1643; two delightful comedies), *Rodogune* (1643; one of his best works), *Théodore* (1645; a failure), *Héraclius* (1647), *Don Sanche d'Aragon* and *Andromède* (1650; the latter one was a *tragédie à machines*), *Nicomède* (1652; remarkable by its combination of the tragic greatness and the familiar style). Nor must we forget his beautiful metrical translation of *De imitatione Christi*, published in 1651, and which went through thirty editions in the course of twenty years.

Molière's earliest efforts belong also to the same epoch, and after a long career in the provinces he had the honour of appearing at the Louvre, where, assisted by a clever company of actors (the two Béjarts, Dufresne, De Brie, and Du Croisy; and Mesdemoiselles Béjart, Du Parc, De Brie, and Hervé), he performed in the presence of the king Corneille's *Nicomède*, and a comedietta of his own, *Le Docteur amoureux*. In 1659, he brought out *Les Précieuses Ridicules*, and in 1661, his first serious and literary effort, *L'École des Maris*.

From Corneille and Molière we fall considerably

when we come to Chapelain; but we must remember that at that time he was regarded as the umpire of taste and the patron of literature. In 1647, he composed, in honour of Mazarin, an ode, of which the only merit is its length. It consists of four hundred and sixty lines, and is as dull as it is long. He was pensioned by the cardinal, together with Corneille, Voiture, and Balzac. The minister wished evidently to act the part of a Mecænas, for he even wrote to Descartes, who was then in Holland, granting him a pension "on account of his great merit, and of the advantages which his philosophy and his deep researches had procured to mankind; he wished also to afford him the means of prosecuting his beautiful experiments, which must require a great outlay of money." *

We must notice that Mazarin was not the only influential person who thus stood forth as the patron of literature. The superintendent of the finances, Nicholas Fouquet, found it useful also to have around him his circle of *beaux-esprits* and poets, and he treated them with a courtesy and a delicacy which made them feel that they were honouring him when they accepted his presents, and that their genius conferred upon him the greatest obligations. Thus it was in the case of Corneille. He had reached fifty years of age, and felt disheartened by the comparative failure of his recent plays. Fouquet's kind encouragements stimulated him afresh, and although the tragedies he composed under that influence

* See Baillet's *Life of Descartes*, part ii. p. 327.

(*Œdipe, Othon, Sertorius*) are much inferior to *Le Cid, Horace,* and *Cinna,* still they are not altogether unworthy of him. He thanked the superintendent feelingly and eloquently:

> "Oui, généreux appui de tout notre Parnasse,
> Tu me rends ma vigueur. . . .
> Je sens le même feu, je sens la même audace,
> Qui fit plaindre le Cid, qui fit combattre Horace,
> Et je me trouve encor la main qui crayonna
> L'âme du Grand Pompée et l'esprit de Cinna."

La Fontaine and Molière must not be forgotten amongst the poets whom Fouquet's substantial liberality supported and urged on in the career of literature. The elegy entitled *Les Nymphes de Vaux* was a touching and at the same time a bold memorial of gratitude to a man who certainly deserved his severe punishment, but who rendered to the new school of writers signal services. Molière's comedy, *Les Fâcheux,* was, as we all know, performed for the first time at Vaux, Fouquet's mansion, before Louis XIV., and nineteen days later the *surintendant* was arrested, together with his friend and confidential agent, Pellisson-Fontanier.

The two Corneilles, La Fontaine, Molière, Pascal, La Rochefoucauld, De Retz, Madame de Sévigné, Arnauld—such names are sufficient to accompany that of Cardinal Mazarin, and to introduce him, so to say, to immortality; but a few inferior ones still remain to be quoted, more intimately connected with the history of the *Fronde,* and which are closely identified with the comic—we had almost said the

grotesque—side of that extraordinary episode in the annals of the French seventeenth century. What has been wittily though erroneously designated as a *plaisanterie à main armée* gave rise to a new style of literature—the burlesque one, which, although akin in certain respects to the humour of Rabelais and the wit of Bonaventure Despériers, differs from both, inasmuch as it has neither depth nor feeling nor philosophical aim. The sole object is to excite merriment and to amuse. Burlesque writers encourage laughter for laughter's sake; they turn away from the miseries and the terrible catastrophes which civil wars and maladministration had heaped upon France, and as these miseries, these catastrophes, seem beyond remedy, they have come to the conclusion that the best thing to do under the circumstances is to make fun of them. It is evident that if an author selects as his *dramatis personæ* well-known characters generally associated with high deeds, lofty sentiments, and dignified situations; if he then makes them talk slang; if he transforms those lofty situations into vulgar, commonplace, everyday occupations; if, finally, he substitutes for their exploits grotesque and absurd actions, the contrast realized cannot but strike us by its very exaggeration, and call forth our mirth. Now, that is the very essence of the burlesque style; and although it had made its appearance during the reign of Louis XIII., yet it reached its full growth only at the time of the *Fronde*. From 1644 to 1660 it reigned with an amount of popularity which seems almost unaccount-

able, if we did not remember that the *Fronde* itself was to a certain extent an acted burlesque. We cannot, of course, pretend even to enumerate the different productions belonging to that branch of literature; nor would it be worth while awarding to them a kind of meretricious celebrity, but one or two authors deserve to be singled out as typical representatives of the school.

If our readers were asked to point out the burlesque writer *par excellence*, most of them, we fancy, would name Scarron. We shall not give the biography of that amusing writer who, despite his terrible infirmities, contrived to marry Françoise d'Aubigné, later on better known as Madame de Maintenon, and wife of Louis XIV., but we shall quote his own portrait of himself. "My figure, although small, was formerly good. The disease from which I suffer has shortened it by one foot, at least; my head is somewhat too big for my body; . . . my legs and my thighs have, in the first instance, produced an obtuse angle, then a right one, then an acute one; my thighs make up another angle with my body; and, as my head leans forward over my chest, I am tolerably like the letter Z. My arms are shortened as well as my legs, and my fingers as well as my arms; finally, I am a compendium of human misery. . . . I have always been rather hot-headed, rather greedy, and rather lazy. . . . I hate no one; I am glad when I am in company, and can be satisfied when by myself. As for my woes, no one can put up with them more patiently than I do."

Scarron might have been rich but for his step-mother, who cheated him of his inheritance. Thus reduced from affluence to comparative poverty, he found resources in his writings; he had, besides, a church living, a pension from Mazarin, and another from the queen, of whom he styled himself the "invalid laureate" (*le malade en titre d'office*). The cardinal, having taken offence at the dedicatory epistle of one of his poems, deprived him of his pensions, with the result of driving Scarron into the ranks of the bitterest *Frondeurs*, and enlisting him amongst the most abusive satirists of the period. The title *La Mazarinade*, given by the poet to his insulting but amusing and witty composition, became the general designation of a whole set of versified lampoons, about which we shall say a little more presently. But we have not yet named the poem which has won for Scarron the first place on the list of burlesque writers. The *Virgile Travesti* is no doubt too long, the jokes it contains are often tedious, and, more frequently still, coarse; but, on the other hand, it abounds in specimens of genuine wit, and is an excellent piece of literary criticism under its grotesque appearance. Thus we may admire Virgil, and yet find that Æneas and his companion are remaining too long in the mist which conceals them from the sight of Dido; therefore the remark made by Achates, according to Scarron's interpretation, seems to us most apposite. "Are we going to spend the whole year in this fog?" After paraphrasing the well-known exclamation: "*Discite justitiam moniti*," our author goes on to say—

"Cette sentence est bonne et belle;
Mais en enfer à quoi sert-elle?
Faire là des sermons si beaux,
C'est donner des fleurs aux pourceaux."

Scarron amusingly turns into ridicule the lachrymose character of *pius Æneas* in certain passages. He shows us Dido always saying grace before her meals, and administering *indifferent* justice without receiving any gratuities. After having built the walls of Samos, Juno very generously exempts the citizens from all taxes, and creates for their use two or three colleges endowed with valuable privileges. As for the celebrated nymph Deiopeia, promised to Æolus as a small acknowledgment of his services, she must have been a perfect treasure, both of intellectual gifts and of domestic virtues, for it is said of her—

"Elle entend et parle fort bien
L'Espagnol et l'Italien;
Le Cid du poète Corneille,
Elle le récite à merveille,
Coud le linge en perfection,
Et sonne du psalterion."

Deiopeia would have certainly been a valuable acquisition at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, where, as we all know, a taste for Italian and Spanish literature, and a deep acquaintance with Marini and Guillen de Castro constituted a safe passport to fame. We must not dismiss Scarron without alluding, at any rate, to his best work, *Le Roman Comique*, a masterpiece of language and of composition. "Left unfinished, *Le Roman Comique*," says

M. Géruzez,* "will long survive, on account of the natural character of the thoughts, the purity of the style, the bold and graceful outline of the personages brought in, the amusing nature of the situations. We cannot forget the physiognomies to whom we are introduced in the first books—Destin and L'Étoile, a charming couple who preserve their dignity in the most wretched situation; Ragotin, with his amusing fits of temper, his small stature, and his lofty aspirations as a poet and a lover; La Rancune, the immediate offspring of Panurge; and, finally, the tall and phlegmatic La Baguenodière. No vulgar artist could have painted such a gallery of portraits."

If we have dwelt at such length upon Scarron, it is because he was the leader of the burlesque school of literature. His followers scarcely deserve mention, and nobody would have certainly known D'Assoucy, for instance, but for Boileau's couplet:

"Le plus mauvais plaisant eut des approbateurs,
Et jusqu'à D'Assoucy, tout trouva des lecteurs."

There was a perfect deluge of parodies composed in imitation of the *Virgile Travesti*. Ovid, Lucan, Horace, Homer, Juvenal, had to submit each in his turn; political journals were written from the burlesque point of view; La Fresnaye's *Guerre burlesque* (1649), Berthaud's *La ville de Paris en vers burlesques* (1654), Colletet's *Tracas de Paris*, and the *Courrier de la Fronde*, may be named amongst the principal. Strange to say, the grave, solemn, and somewhat pedantic Boileau himself, that pompous

* *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, vol. ii. p. 155.

adversary of facetious literature, paid tribute to the prevailing taste, for he contributed as a leading *collaborateur* to the *Chapelain décoiffé*, which is nothing else but a parody on Corneille's *Cid;* and, together with Bernier and Racine, he wrote the *Arrêt burlesque*, turning into ridicule the interdiction of Cartesian philosophy which had been announced as about to be fulminated by the University of Paris.

We have reserved as the last Cyrano de Bergerac, for the reason that, independently of a few amusing works (*Le pédant joué*, a comedy from which Molière has borrowed two scenes; *Agrippine*, a tragedy in which there are about half a dozen tolerable couplets; *Histoire comique des états et empire de la lune et du soleil*), he was the only notable burlesque-writer who sided with Mazarin against the *Frondeurs*. As M. Géruzez remarks,* insult was his forte, and, at any rate, he had "the courage of his opinions;" he was always ready to maintain them sword in hand. The number of his adversaries did not frighten him, and if, in his *Lettre aux Frondeurs* he attacks them *en masse*, he could despatch them one by one in the Pré-aux-Clercs, or some other sequestered spot where duels were still fought in defiance of Richelieu's edicts. How disappointing for him that he could not challenge to single combat the unfortunate cripple Scarron! But if actual fighting in this case was quite out of the question, abuse and foul language could safely be indulged in. "Consider in him" (Scarron), says M. de Bergerac,

* *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, vol. ii. p. 149.

"with what rods Providence chastises calumny, sedition, and slander. Come, O ye burlesque writers" (as if the author of the *Pédant joué* had not joined himself to that school!), "come and behold a complete hospital in the body of your Apollo! He dies off daily by some limb or other, and his tongue remains the last in order that his shrieks may tell us of the torments he feels."

The most popular of the satirists on the *Frondeur* side were Blot and Marigny. Guy Patin said in 1649, "A great number of fugitive papers (*papiers volants*) against Mazarin are published here, but they are worth nothing." Cardinal de Retz, writing somewhat later on, informs us that "there were more than sixty volumes of pieces composed during the course of the civil war, and I think I may safely say that there are not one hundred pages which deserve to be read." They are certainly coarse in the extreme, and stupid, as a rule, when they are not coarse.

Scarron's *La Mazarinade* has already been mentioned; but, on the whole, the gem of the collection is the series of triolets composed by Marigny, and of which we cannot resist the pleasure of giving a specimen directed against the Coadjutor:

"Monsieur notre Coadjuteur
Vend sa crosse pour une fronde;
Il est vaillant et bon pasteur,
Monsieur notre Coadjuteur!
Sachant qu'autrefois un frondeur
Devint le plus grand roi du monde,
Monsieur notre Coadjuteur
Vend sa crosse pour une fronde."

From this witty little poem, one thing is quite certain, namely, that all the Mazarinades were not directed against Mazarin. In fact, the leaders in the opposite party, or most of them, made themselves so ridiculous, and even so despicable, that they afforded excellent material to exercise the talent of the satirist. The cardinal took no notice of the scurrilous attacks of which he was the subject, and as the authors were not prosecuted, collections of the Mazarinades are not very rare. The public library at St. Petersburg possesses one in 137 thick volumes, containing about 6000 pieces; the library of the Arsenal in Paris has a series of 4,272 of those satires; the *Société de l'Histoire de France* published thirty years ago a *Choix des Mazarinades* in two octavo volumes, and a *Bibliographie des Mazarinades* in three. We have spoken elsewhere * of Gabriel Naudé's *Mascurat*, written as a sort of apology of the cardinal.

In connection with what may be called political literature, a writer must be named here who was as superior to all the authors we have just mentioned as can well be imagined; we mean St. Évremond. His *Retraite de M. de Longueville en Normandie* and his *Lettre au Maréchal de Créquy sur la Paix des Pyrénées* are the two productions in which he touches upon contemporary events: the former proved his loyal attachment to the royal cause; the latter brought about his disgrace, and drove him into exile. Both these pamphlets are extremely

* *Richelieu*, p. 215.

clever, but the *Lettre au Maréchal de Créquy* is so evidently the result of a fit of spite against Mazarin that it misses its aim, and has no historical value whatever.

In a busy age like that of the *Fronde* periodical literature could not but be very flourishing, and the successors of Théophraste Renaudot found journalism a very lucrative profession. All the historians who have treated of the administration of Mazarin quote Loret, and give copious extracts from *La Muze historique*. Let us say a few words about that fertile *répertoire* of Paris gossip. Like so many of his contemporaries, Loret began by contributing to the burlesque school of writing; nor could he ever cast it entirely aside, even when seeking his inspiration in the *salon* of Madame de Longueville. His letters, however, are full of real interest, and they afford us plenty of details on all the events of the day. Thus, when Mademoiselle de Montpensier left Paris on the return of the king in October, 1652, for fear of sharing the punishment reserved for the rebels, the *Muze historique* takes care to record that circumstance:

> "Mademoiselle, sa fille aînée,
> Disparut la même journée;
> Mais où cette princesse alla,
> Fort peu de gens savent cela."

Then again, describing the first performance of Molière's *Précieuses Ridicules*, he talks of the play as—

"Un sujet chimérique,
Mais si bouffon et si comique
Que jamais les pièces du Ryer,
Que fut si digne de laurier;
Jamais l'Œdipe de Corneille,
Qui l'on tient être une merveille;
La Cassandre de Boisrobert,
Le Néron de Monsieur Gilbert. . . .
N'eurent une vogue si grande,
Tant la pièce semble friande,
À plusieurs tant sages que fous.
Pour moi, j'y portai trente sous;
Mais oyant leurs fines paroles.
J'en eus pour plus de dix pistoles."

This passage enables us to illustrate a few points of literary history. Thus Corneille's *Œdipe* can scarcely be called a wonder, although it was honoured with Fouquet's encouragement, and met, when it was first performed, with the greatest success: Voltaire's tragedy on the same subject has completely cast it in the shade. The *Cassandre, Comtesse de Barcelone,* by Boisrobert, was brought out on Friday, October 31, 1653. We can safely affirm of it what was said of all the author's dramatic performances: "It is completely forgotten, and deserves to be so." Gilbert's *Néron,* or rather *Arie et Pétus ou les amours de Néron,* is six years later (September 22, 1659). No one would think of reading it now, except as a matter of literary curiosity and as the work of an author who supplied Racine with a few ideas for his tragedy *Phèdre.* We see, then, that Loret cannot always be trusted as a literary critic. His patriotism, on the other hand, is irreproachable. He deplored with the greatest

sincerity the evils which a long period of civil wars had brought upon France, and, addressing the Spaniards, he tells them plainly that—

"Si les Français ont du dessous,
Si vous avez barres sur nous,
Si nos pertes sont infinies,
Remerciez en nos manies,
Et nos noires dissensions
Que fomentent vos passions."

For the space of sixteen years Loret continued his interesting gazette. It is only fair to say that no work surpasses it in value as a treasure of information on the political and literary history of the time to which it corresponds (1650–1665), and the abundance of details it gives makes us forget the wretchedness of the style and the trivial character of the poetry.

No one who has read some of the books of the early seventeenth century—those, we mean, which are anterior to the masterpieces of Corneille, the sermons of Fléchier, or the works of Balzac—would attempt to deny that important reforms were needed both in the grammar and in the composition. Malherbe, no doubt, had done a great deal for poetry, but much remained still to be done for the perfection of literature in general, both prose and verse. This was the task which Vaugelas grappled with—Vaugelas, "a judicious and elegant writer, who carried his respect of the French language to piety, but never allowed his scruples to lead him into the path of literary superstition."* Vaugelas has too

* Géruzez, *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, vol. ii. p. 65.

often been regarded as an exaggerated purist. He readily acknowledged, on the contrary, the force of custom; and he recommended his fellow-members of the Académie Française both to be very chary in coining new words, and to avoid as much as possible turning out of the vocabulary picturesque expressions to which constant use and a wise tradition had given, so to say, the right of citizenship.

In introducing the name of Furetière, we shall still be remaining within the precincts frequented by "the forty immortals." The author of the *Roman bourgeois*, like another now unknown and forgotten writer, Linière, had, long before Boileau, opened the way to satirical literature, and it is a pity that the scandal of their conduct prevented both these men from reaping the reward of praise which their writings deserved. We shall say nothing of Linière, who unfortunately wrote with too much ease to produce any composition worth being noticed; but Furetière was a man of real talent, and his *factums* are, in the style of pamphlet literature, equal to the immortal *brochures* of Paul Louis Courier. They arose from the circumstance that Furetière, recently elected to the Académie Française, was accused of appropriating, in view of a dictionary he was composing, a number of manuscripts accumulated by his *confrères* for their own use. He was excluded from the company in 1685, the privilege he had obtained for the publication of his work was cancelled, and a lawsuit instituted against him. An academician, Charpentier, issued against him certain lampoons, in

which he accused him of being a thief, a pickpocket, an infamous character, a blasphemer, etc., and it is by way of answer to these charges that Furetière published his *factums*. Works of that description, however witty and clever, cannot be supposed to prove of much interest to readers of the nineteenth century; whereas writings of a more general character, if well done and possessing literary merit, may and will probably command lasting success. Scarron's *Roman comique*, for this reason, is still read; so is Furetière's *Roman bourgeois*. The plot is loosely constructed, the digressions are frequent, and the author too habitually finds himself falling into the style of his *factums;* but some of the characters are masterpieces of observation, and it has been noticed that both Racine and Boileau were very much indebted to Furetière for hints and suggestions which they worked out in some of their happiest remarks on lawyers, law courts and lawsuits.

It would seem, from the pugnacious disposition of most of the writers of those days, that they had transferred to their studies and libraries that mania for fighting which characterized the *Fronde*. We have seen Pascal attacking Father Bauny, and Antoine Arnauld challenging Father Cotton; Scarron falls foul of Mazarin, and Cyrano de Bergerac of Scarron; Loret gets into trouble with his fellow-journalists, and Furetière with the Academy; the author of *L'Illustre Bassa* takes to task all his critics combined, and concludes one of

his prefaces by calling them all out together—"If they are not pleased," he says, "let them know that I sign myself George de Scudéry." It was reserved for Ménage to number amongst his enemies the Cardinal de Retz, the whole Parliament of Paris, Bussy-Rabutin, Cotin, Gilles Boileau, D'Aubignac, Bouhours, and Baillet. His *Requête des dictionnaires*, a satire written in the style of Scarron, and directed against "the forty immortals," very naturally kept him out of the Académie Française. We know how Molière turned him into ridicule in the *Femmes savantes* under the name of Vadius. Let us add that Ménage was sensible enough not to feel offended at the comic poet's satire, and he ultimately became reconciled with him, as also with Boileau, whose caustic spirit he had had the stupidity to excite. Like the other writers we have previously named, Ménage was a kind of literary gladiator, and brought upon himself a perfect shower of epigrams, which wounded his vanity almost as much as if he had been run through by Scudéry's rapier. There was, nevertheless, in him the stuff of a real scholar, and despite the fanciful character of some of the etymologies he proposes, (§) his *Dictionnaire étymologique ou origines de la langue Française* is a valuable work. We must not forget, amongst the *savants* of the Mazarin epoch, Huet, Bishop of Avranches, Ménage's friend, and who earned much reputation as a poet, a critic, and a philosopher.

If the amusing scene between Trissotin and Vadius in Molière's *Femmes savantes* shows to what

a degree literary jealousy and professional bitterness were carried by Ménage's contemporaries, the equally droll characters of Pancrace (*Doctor in utroque jure*) and Marphurius (*Le Mariage forcé*) prove that the philosophers who lived then had not, like M. Jourdain's "master of philosophy" learnt by an assiduous practice of ethical science, "to control their passions." Here again we find an absolute want of courtesy and of gentlemanly deportment. Huet was accused of being a sceptic, exactly as Descartes had been represented as a determined atheist. This may be called a kind of just retribution; for the Bishop of Avranches, in his *Censure de la philosophie Cartésienne*, and especially in his *Nouveaux mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Cartésianisme*, had, in attacking the celebrated author of the *Discours de la méthode*, gone beyond all the limits of proper and legitimate criticism. The latter of these two works, especially, is perfectly scurrilous. Huet supposes that Descartes did not die in Sweden, but that, weary of Queen Christina, and of being considered as the oracle of the human race, he pretended to be dead, and had retired *incognito* to Lapland. There, however, finding it impossible to give up both his mania for talking and his conceit for being the subject of universal conversation, he gathered around himself an audience of young Laplanders, who admired enthusiastically his cleverness and his doctrine. In this absurd and scandalous satire, Huet represents Descartes conversing with his friend Chanut, and speaking like an idiot, an intriguer, and a boaster.

He makes fun of his own disciples, laughs at their simplicity, and acknowledges the correctness of the accusations brought forward against him in the *Censure*. A hundred years later, D'Alembert, in his *Éloge d'Huet*, alluding to the prelate's *Nouveaux mémoires*, says, "Huet may do what he likes, but it is not easy to turn into ridicule a man such as Descartes; and if, on this occasion, the stigma of ridicule must remain attached to some one, it was certainly not to Descartes."

We gladly turn from Huet's jealous and calumnious attacks to the consideration of a man whose nature was diametrically opposed to that of the Bishop of Avranches. We mean Father Mersenne, one of the most celebrated amongst the early Cartesians. An enthusiastic philosopher, an excellent mathematician, a profound physicist, Mersenne to all these qualities added the still more valuable ones of generosity, affability, and conciliation. Baillet says of him, "Mersenne was the *savant* of the age who had the kindest heart; it was impossible to see him and not to feel irresistibly drawn towards him. Never was there any mortal more anxious to penetrate into the secrets of nature, and to bring sciences to perfection. The correspondence he kept up with the learned made him the centre of all literary circles. It was to him that they forwarded questions, which he, in his turn, submitted to those who were capable of solving them; thus, with reference to the commonwealth of letters, he discharged duties similar to those which are performed by the heart in

the human body." An earnest Christian, and somewhat vehement when called upon to defend the truths of religion, he was in other respects full of moderation and kindness. Gassendi, Hobbes, Galileo, and Fermat were amongst his most valued friends. He had travelled in Italy and in Holland, winning every one's affections wherever he went, and forming relations which all turned to the profit of science. The list of his works is a long one.

Before bringing this chapter to a conclusion, we must allude, if we cannot do more, to a literary episode which was not peculiar to France, but which contributed in no small degree to keep the spirit of animosity so remarkably rife during the epoch of *La Fronde*—we mean the celebrated dispute on the relative merits of ancient and modern writers. The origin of this quarrel does not go further back than the days of Cardinal de Richelieu, and it was the natural reaction against the extravagant and wholesale praise of the Greek and Latin classics introduced by the Renaissance movement. We have already named that extraordinary compound of a Court abbé and a professional joker, Métel de Boisrobert, the cardinal's favourite, and one of Richelieu's five *collaborateurs* in the plays he used to write for the great amusement of the Parisians. Well, it was Boisrobert who unconsciously began the great discussion about ancient *versus* modern writers. In extolling the latter at the expense of the former, he was fighting in a certain sense *pro domo suâ*, and there is no doubt that if his works were patterns of composi-

tion and of style, Homer, Sophocles, and Virgil deserved to be called the wretchedest of scribblers. The public, unfortunately, did not endorse his views, and he took the opportunity, in a discourse on the stage, which he delivered before the Académie Française, to attack the classics with the utmost violence. He described them as inspired, indeed, by genius, but as utterly destitute of taste and of refinement. He went even so far as to compare Homer to the "street singers whose doggerel sends the mob into raptures."

Another champion of modern literature, and a much more serious one than Boisrobert, was Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, one of Boileau's favourite "victims." Strange enough, it was religious fervour that threw *him* into the arena of literary controversy, and his animosity against Port Royal, combined with his own vanity, provided him with a new code of æsthetics. It is perfectly clear that a man admiring the Holy Scriptures not only as the textbook of our religion, but as a literary monument, must despise, or very nearly so, the masterpieces of antiquity; the ridiculous part of the business is when such a man endeavours to give a pattern of what should be a poem, either dramatic or epic, and when his own production as a work of art sinks below contempt. Such was precisely the case with Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin. He quoted against his literary antagonists the lines of Horace—

> "Mediocribus esse poetis
> Non Di, non homines, non concessere columnæ;"

but he did not see that the quotation could be applied to him, and therefore he felt extremely indignant when Boileau turned him into ridicule. Four works of our author contain his *ars poetica*, and his scheme for the *Christianization*, if we may use that expression, of literature. The first is the preface to his poem on Mary Magdalen (1669); the second is a *Traité pour juger les poètes Grecs, Latins, et Français* (1670); the third is the preface to *Clovis* (1673), an epic poem he had written to celebrate the power of Christianity and the conversion of the Frankish chieftain; the fourth is a *Défense de la poésie Française*, addressed to Perrault. We may remark that Saint-Sorlin's theory is very much the same as the one advocated by M. de Châteaubriand in the *Génie du Christianisme*, towards the beginning of the present century: it has its reasonable side, and contains many views which have long since obtained the rights of citizenship in literary criticism; but, on the other hand, it is too absolute, too exclusive, and the author defeats his own purpose by his blind vehemence. An examination of the views of Perrault, Bouhours, Lamotte, and others, would take us far beyond the limits of Mazarin's administration. We need only say, before concluding this chapter, that as Jansenism was a kind of religious *Fronde*, so the campaign upon which Boisrobert and Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin were engaged was a literary one; here, in course of time, as in the political and in the religious arena, order was gradually restored, very artificial indeed, but none the less observed, and

Boileau represented in the sphere of intellectual pursuits what Bossuet was in the Church and Louis XIV. himself in the Government—despotism of the most uncompromising kind.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE FINE ARTS—CONCLUDING SUMMARY.

THE history of the fine arts under the administration of Mazarin and the reign of Louis XIV. shows exactly the same tendency as that of literature. It is a continual and steady progress towards regularity, dignity, and a kind of severe grandeur which rests the eye and pleases the taste, if it does not excite enthusiasm. We alluded in a previous volume to the architect Lemercier in connection with the Val de Grâce, which he had not time to build. This church, the foundation-stone of which was laid as early as 1645 by the young Louis XIV. himself, had been in the first instance entrusted to the architectural talent of François Mansard (1598–1666), who actually raised it to about nine feet above the level of the ground. Mansard's reputation was perfectly justified by his works, but his yearning for perfection and artistic finish rendered him extremely hard to please, and on more than one occasion he had unhesitatingly demolished important buildings nearly completed, in order to reconstruct them

according to new plans, and in conformity with fresh ideas. The Government dreaded very naturally lest he might feel similar scruples in the case of the Val de Grâce, and it was for that reason that Lemercier was substituted in his place. Pierre Lemuet and Gabriel Leduc completed it after Lemercier's death in 1665. It was an ingenious and generous act of revenge which led Mansard to adopt his original plan and carry it out on smaller proportions for the chapel of the Château of Fresnes. The only work of his still subsisting in its entirety is the mansion of Maison-sur-Seine. It is also to him that architecture is indebted for those rooms called *Mansardes,* which were made to utilize the tall gables so characteristic of French seventeenth-century constructions.

The church of the Val de Grâce is built after the model of St. Peter's at Rome. Its elliptic cupola is the most elegant specimen of the style extant in France. It is supported externally by sixteen pilasters handsomely decorated; inside it forms a circular curve of seventy-two feet of development. The fresco which occupies the interior of the cupola is well-known. It was celebrated by Molière in a poem entitled *La gloire du Val de Grâce.* It contains no less than two hundred figures, and was completed in the space of thirteen months by Mignard (1663) with the assistance of his friend Dufresnoy.

The limits of our subject exclude from this chapter Jules Hardouin Mansard, the nephew of Francois;

but we must notice Claude Perrault, that ingenious man who, notwithstanding Boileau's epigrams, (§) distinguished himself as a *littérateur*, a physician, and an architect. The colonnade of the Louvre, his principal work, was only begun in 1665; but plans for the finishing of that palace had been sent in long before by Lemercier, Levau, and the Cavaliere Bernini, and it was no small credit for a mere *amateur* like Perrault to have obtained the preference over such distinguished competitors.

The palace, however, with which the name of Louis XIV. is chiefly associated is that of Versailles, which was commenced in 1661, the very year of Mazarin's death. "Versailles," says Saint-Simon, "the dullest, the most wretched of all places—no prospect, no woods, no water, no ground, because all is either quicksand or marsh, consequently no air, and what there is is unwholesome. He (Louis XIV.) prided himself on conquering nature, and subduing it by dint of art and of money. He built everything piecemeal, without any preconceived plan; the beautiful and the ugly were clumsily tacked together, buildings on a large scale and cramped-up structures appeared in close proximity to one another. The violence inflicted upon nature disgusts one and is repulsive. The abundance of the waters brought from all sides makes them thick, green, and muddy. The effect they produce is wonderful, but the final result is that we admire and flee away. On the side of the courtyard, we feel hemmed in, and the long wings seem to be connected with nothing. On the

side of the gardens, we enjoy the beauty of the *ensemble,* but it is just as if we were looking at a half-burnt palace, where the upper story and the roof are still wanting. The chapel crushes the rest of the building, because Mansard's plan was to raise the whole one floor higher. From whichever side you look at it, it has the appearance of a funereal monument. It would be endless to enumerate the defects of a palace so immense and so immensely dear."

We see that Saint-Simon, who has so wonderfully destroyed in his amusing memoirs the *prestige* which Voltaire throws around the *moral* Versailles, is equally happy in *running it down,* so far as its *physical* aspect is concerned; but, notwithstanding this severe piece of criticism, there is no doubt that the palace and the park of Versailles are extremely magnificent. The building was begun in 1661, and ten years later the king was enabled to take up his residence there, with part of the Court; but the whole palace was not completed till 1684, and the chapel, begun in 1699, was finished only in 1710.

If we now pass on to the examination of the leading painters who flourished between 1640 and 1661, we find several illustrious names which deserve a brief notice—Lebrun, Lesueur, Mignard, Jouvenet. It is almost impossible to think of the galleries of Versailles without immediately conjuring up the figure of the illustrious painter to whom France owes the series of Alexander's campaigns. Lebrun's colouring is heavy, and his composition monotonous, but there is much dignity in his style. He

was one of the eminent men whom Fouquet patronized and brought into notice. He had already given the measure of his talent by the paintings which he executed for the Château of Vaux-le-Vicomte, when Mazarin introduced him to Louis XIV., who named him his painter in ordinary and director of the Academy of Fine Arts. After Fouquet's disgrace, Lebrun had become Colbert's *protégé*, and the reputation he obtained rendered him so vain that he could not tolerate any rival in a line of art where he considered himself supreme. The success which Mignard obtained shortened his life. As he is chronologically anterior to Lebrun, so Eustache Lesueur surpasses him in vigour, in dignity, and in dramatic effect. He was only thirty-eight years old when he died in a Carthusian convent; but the very brief space of his artistic career sufficed to place him in the front rank of French painters. His chief work is a set of twenty-two pictures representing the principal incidents in the life of St. Bruno. They may be seen now in the museum of the Louvre. When Mignard happens to be named, we naturally think of him who painted the fresco of the Val de Grâce, and whose reputation is due principally to his portraits. But we must not forget his brother *Nicolas*, surnamed *Mignard d'Avignon*, because he lived there for a considerable time, and married a lady belonging to the place. (He obtained the notice of Mazarin, and was commissioned by Louis XIV. to decorate several apartments on the ground-floor of the Tuileries; he has also left behind him a few portraits.) We might

swell this list very easily by inserting the names of many inferior though still estimable artists; but such a catalogue would say nothing whatever to the reader, and be quite useless. Amongst the sculptors Girardon deserves a mention, and amongst the engravers Nanteuil and Edelinck. André Lenôtre carried to perfection the art of landscape-gardening. His father had been *intendant* of the garden of the Tuileries. He succeeded to him in that capacity, and rose to high favour, thanks to his talents, his honesty, and his simple, unaffected manners. He had planned the entire arrangements of Fouquet's sumptuous residence at Vaux, and it is after having seen that mansion that Louis XIV. entrusted to Lenôtre's skill the direction of all the parks belonging to the royal residences, and chiefly that of Versailles, where he certainly displayed the most wonderful skill. It is well known that Greenwich Park was laid out from the designs of Lenôtre.

The music of the Mazarin epoch is chiefly connected with the name of Lully, who began life, as every one knows, in the kitchen of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, where he was employed as a scullion. It was through the influence of the Chevalier de Guise that he had obtained that situation. His menial occupation did not prevent him from cultivating music, for which he had always shown a decided taste; and the princess, seeing his disposition and his early talent, had him, in the first place, properly taught, and in the next, admitted him as a member of her own private band. Lully was

unfortunately a man whose vulgar, miserly, and ungrateful character formed the strongest contrast to his unquestionable musical genius. He composed some satirical songs against Mademoiselle, to whom he owed all that he was and all that he had. Dismissed ignominiously from her service, he tried for an appointment in the band of his Majesty's twenty-four violinists, was admitted, and succeeded in ingratiating himself with Louis XIV., who was passionately fond of music. He became successively inspector-general of the king's band (1652), composer to the king (1653), superintendent of the king's chamber-music (1661), and music-master to the royal family. The memoirs of the seventeenth century are full of allusions to the *vingt-quatre violons du roi.* They used to be under the direction of a *Roi des violons*, who had succeeded to the privileges and rights of the *Roi des ménestriers*, a dignity created towards the beginning of the fifteenth century. In those days of corporations, guilds, and privileged societies, the "twenty-four violinists" were not to be trifled with. They allowed no infringement of their rights, no competition, no rivalry whatever. Louis XIV. had granted them fresh statutes in 1658, and it was under these statutes that Lully exercised his rule, and conducted his band. Amongst their duties was the one of performing during the king's dinner in an ante-chamber adjoining the banqueting-hall, and of playing dance-music at the Court entertainments. They might on some occasions be hired by persons belonging to the

Court, and the fashion soon became general of enlivening supper-parties, lunches, and assemblies with the help of a few of the favourite musicians. Under the date of June 16, 1649, we find the following entry in the manuscript diary of Dubuisson-Aubenay: —"The Abbé de Bouillon gave a supper to the Prince de Conti, the Prince de Marsillac, the Chevalier de la Rochefoucauld, De Grammont, etc. They had at supper the twenty-four violinists of the king's band, whom they had sent for." The same author, a few pages further on, tells us that the custom of having serenades of violin-players was general. Under the date of August 4, 1649, he writes, "Every evening the violinists are heard in some house or other of the town. No performance of plays, no assembly, no collation, is complete without them."

About Lully himself, the best thing we can do is to transcribe a passage from Sir George Grove's excellent *Dictionary of Music and Musicians:* "His part (as leader of the king's private band) enabled him to perfect himself as a solo-player, and gave him valuable practice as a conductor and composer for the orchestra. Baptiste, as he was then called, had common sense as well as ambition, and soon perceived that, without deeper study, he could not make full use of his talents. To remedy his defective education, he took lessons on the clavecin, and in composition from the organists Métru, Gigault, and Roberdel; and, at the same time, lost no opportunity of ingratiating himself with men of rank—a

useful process for which he had a special gift. He was soon chosen to compose music for the Court ballets, in which Louis XIV. himself danced; and after the success of *Alcidiane* (1658), words by Benserade, was commissioned to write the *divertissements* for *Sersè*, an Italian opera by Cavalli, performed at the Louvre (November 22, 1660) in honour of the king's recent marriage with Maria Theresa of Austria."* The period of Lully's greatest glory was when he succeeded in having as his *collaborateur* the celebrated Quinault; but this took place only after Mazarin's death, and therefore does not fall within the limits of this book. With all his unquestionable talents, Lully was, in plain English, a downright scoundrel, and Boileau characterized him admirably when he called him *un coquin ténébreux*.

If now we attempt to appreciate, from a general point of view, French art during the seventeenth century—and by art we understand not only painting, drawing, sculpture, architecture, and the like, but literature properly so called—we come to the conclusion that its tendency was essentially spiritual. "The France of the seventeenth century," says M. Cousin, "the France of Descartes, Corneille, and Bossuet, decidedly spiritual in the various branches of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence, shows the same tendency in the fine arts. The artists of that great epoch partake of its general characteristics, and express them according to their fashion. It is not true to say that they are wanting in imagination,

* *Art. Lulli*, vol. ii., by M. Gustave Chouquet.

just as it would be absurd to declare that Pascal and Bossuet likewise lacked that faculty. But as they will not allow imagination to usurp a rank which is not hers by right, as they submit its ardour, nay, its very impetuosity, to the rule of reason and to the inspiration of the heart, it seems as if it lacked strength when it is only reduced to discipline and to method." *

There must necessarily be a variety of opinions respecting the merits of what is generally called the French classic school of art and of literature, and we readily admit that the critics whose admiration is exclusively reserved for Shakespeare in England, Schiller and Goethe in Germany, and Calderon in Spain, will find little to attract them in Racine's *Britannicus*, or Pierre Corneille's *Cinna;* but, on the other hand, it would be absurd to deny that the French seventeenth century had, in art as well as in literature, an originality of its own, and if we wish to judge it fairly and impartially, we must not do so by adopting a standard with which it has absolutely nothing in common.

We have thus endeavoured, as well as we could, to place before our readers an impartial account of Mazarin's administration, and we have enumerated in their respective places the various authorities on the subject. There is one, however, we have not yet named, for the reason that her correspondence alone (we are alluding, of course, to Madame de Sévigné)

* Victor Cousin, *Du vrai, du beau, et du bien*, edition of 1853, p. 270.

would almost enable us to estimate the events of the reign of Louis XIV. and the characters who played the most important part in these events. La Rochefoucauld, the Cardinal de Retz, Fouquet, Turenne, Mademoiselle de Montpensier, the Prince de Condé, are the principal figures we have had to consider—the principal actors in that strange drama which begins with the year 1640, and ends nearly a quarter of a century later. Now, all these were among Madame de Sévigné's friends, and to her we might turn naturally for interesting details on their lives, their passions, and their attitude towards Mazarin. We have said *interesting*, not *impartial*, details, for she makes no secret of her *Frondeuses* sympathies. All her intimates belong to the opposition, and have suffered in consequence. The *Sémillante Marquise* throws, in her correspondence, a great deal of light upon the early part of the reign of Louis XIV., but we must not forget that a large proportion of the letters she wrote during the *Fronde* period have been destroyed as too compromising, either by herself or by her friends. When the authority of the Crown was once firmly established, it was of the highest importance that evidence of the most damaging nature to certain ex-conspirators should be done away with, and that the *grands seigneurs* who now frequented the drawing-rooms of Versailles and of Marly should not run the risk of being severely called to account for their former acts of misdemeanour.

What has become of the letters which Madame

de Sévigné addressed to Fouquet, and which were preserved by him in a silver casket, along with so many others written by the most fashionable ladies of the day? Of all that correspondence, only twelve letters have been handed down to us referring to the *Surintendant's* trial, and directed to M. de Pomponne. The letters addressed to the Cardinal de Retz, to La Rochefoucauld, to the Chevalier de Sévigné, to all the leading *Frondeurs*, no longer exist, and no wonder; for, on the authority of Madame de Sévigné herself, they evidently contained the unguarded opinion of a liberal-minded and clever woman respecting the Parliament and its resistance to despotism, the aristocracy and their attempt to revive the feudal system, the Jansenists and their plans of Church reform.

The real affection of Madame de Sévigné for the Coadjutor of Paris is a fact which some critics have tried to explain, but which is still unaccounted for. Was it because she saw him deprived of all his popularity, discouraged, humbled, making up for his past delinquencies by a life of self-sacrifice, paying his debts, satisfying all his creditors, anxious to give up all his ecclesiastical dignities, and to show the sincerity of his conversion? She does her best to amuse him, and summons for the purpose all the celebrities of French literature. Writing to Madame de Grignan, she says, "Recently, Corneille has read to him a play which reminds us of the old ones (*Pulchérie*, no doubt). Next Saturday Molière will treat him to *Trissotin* or *Les Femmes savantes*, an

extremely amusing play. Despréaux will give him his *Lutrin* and his *Art poétique*. That is all we can do for his service." * Madame de Sévigné announced to Bussy the death of the cardinal in the following manner:—"Pity me for having lost the Cardinal de Retz, so amiable, and so worthy of esteem. I had been his friend for thirty years. He was only twenty-five when I first knew him, and I had never received from him but tender marks of his friendship, which was equally honourable and delicious for me." †

We said just now that Madame de Sévigné's friendship for the Cardinal de Retz is something unaccountable. It has been suggested that interested motives may have contributed a great deal towards it; and in the case of La Rochefoucauld, another of the lady's *intimes*, it was precisely the same. "The king's bounties," says a recent historian, "were always most acceptable; places and dignities please at all times. Man's nature does not vary, and Madame de Sévigné followed the general example. She wanted these bounties of the king for her family, for the Grignans; and precisely, in order to obtain them, she made use of La Rochefoucauld, of Langlade, of all persons high in favour. Must I say all? I have spoken of her affection for Cardinal de Retz. . . . There was some amount of selfishness in that enthusiastic friendship; natural enough, since the prelate was uncle of Madame de Grignan, but

* Letter of March 9, 1672.

† Letter of August 25, 1679.

still, selfishness was there."* Madame de Sévigné's funeral oration of La Rochefoucauld might be quoted as a parallel to that which she delivered on the death of the cardinal. "His end," says she, "makes me think of mine." But it is extremely painful to see complete disinterestedness wanting under all these expressions of sorrow, and the *ego*, which Pascal in his Christian wisdom declares "hateful," † appearing everywhere.

Nicolas Fouquet takes us out of the *Frondeur* atmosphere, but not out of the circle of Madame de Sévigné's friends. That a man of the most disgraceful character, guilty of the grossest malversations, condemned by the universal verdict of history, should have managed to number amongst his friends the Jansenist Arnaulds, the Pomponnes, and the whole of Port Royal, that the *Marquise* should have devoted herself to him with such enthusiastic and ardent affection, is a fact which cannot be accounted for merely because the spirit of opposition is always so strong in the Paris *bourgeoisie*. He was a staunch and enlightened patron of literature. He befriended Pellisson, Corneille, La Fontaine. That they in return should celebrate his praises, and give him, so to say, a passport to immortality—there is nothing there which astonishes us; but Madame de Sévigné's attachment to him is perfectly wonderful, and her correspondence enables us to trace from beginning to end the whole course of that State trial, which

* Combes, *Madame de Sévigné, historien.*

† "Le moi est haïssable," *Pensées*, vii. 20.

ended in a sentence of imprisonment for life. He died the same year as La Rochefoucauld, in 1680, at the age of sixty-five. "What a year," says madame, writing to her daughter, "that is, when I lose so many of my friends!"

As we proceed through the fascinating gallery opened before us by Madame de Sévigné, we find innumerable opportunities of completing this final review of Mazarin's most illustrious contemporaries. Here is the *Frondeur par excellence*, Condé, the hero of Rocroy and of Lens, it is true, but also the rebel, the traitor, who deserved the terrible end of Constable Montmorency much more than Montmorency did himself. He has, by dint of courage and patriotism, obliged France to forget his former errors. He is now struck down by illness; warnings, if we may so say, from the next world have announced his approaching death. He was starting for Fontainebleau on a visit to his granddaughter, ill of the small-pox. "When I leave Fontainebleau," says he to those who surround him, "it will not be to go to Paris, but to start on a much further journey." The death of the Prince de Condé was felt throughout France as a national calamity. (§) He had written to Louis XIV. a dignified letter, begging that monarch's pardon for his past delinquencies, into which he had been in a manner forced by the circumstances of the time. "He recommended union to all the members of his family, . . . embraced them all, caused them to embrace each other in his presence, and made them promise to love each other

as brothers. He rewarded all his servants, asking forgiveness for the bad example he had set them. His Christian disposition appeared everywhere, especially when he received the last sacrament. Finally, he manifested all the sentiments which are a source of eternal consolation and admiration." * The funeral eulogy of the Prince de Condé was, as all know, Bossuet's last oratorical masterpiece.

Turenne, another *Frondeur*, naturally comes next to the hero of Rocroy—Turenne, celebrated by Fléchier and Mascaron, as Condé was destined to be by the Eagle of Meaux; Turenne, notorious for his ugliness, with closely knit eyebrows and "hang-dog features," † but courageous, simple, honest, full of tenderness and consideration for his soldiers, who worshipped him. Ambition had made a rebel of Condé; Turenne, like La Rochefoucauld, yielded to the fatal influence of Madame de Longueville, but he did not go to such extremes as his brother-in-arms, and stopped short of actual treachery. Madame de Sévigné's letter on his death is one of the classical pieces in a collection where almost all is classical. On taking leave of Cardinal de Retz, before starting for his last campaign, Turenne said, "Sir, I am not fond of talking, but I beg of you to believe seriously that, were it not for this business, in which my services are perhaps wanted, I would retire from the world as you have done; and I give you my word of honour that, if I come back, I shall

* Letter to President Moulceau, December 13, 1686.

† *Figure patibulaire* (Madame de Sévigné).

follow your example, and leave some time between life and death."*

Madame de Sévigné does not seem weary of talking and writing about Turenne. She gathers all the information about him that she possibly can. Boisguyot, Feuquières, and three other *gentilshommes*, supply her with details, which she introduces into her letters, and on which she makes the most touching comments. She feels as if the destiny of France was at stake; and with Montecuccoli opposing the French army, what is to be done? When Turenne was alive, his awkward appearance, his ungainly figure, his "hang-dog" features, made people forget his virtues and his sterling merit, but now the case is completely altered. "I admire," says Madame de Sévigné to her daughter, "how death has transformed that hero. Ah yes! I am of your opinion. Nothing is really better than to have a noble and a good soul! It is seen through all things as through a crystal; it cannot be concealed, and on that subject it is impossible to be duped. If we wish to *appear*, we must *be*. The world is not unjust for any length of time."†

We must not allow men to monopolize all the room we can dispose of in this chapter. The early seventeenth century has its heroes of romance, it is true, but it numbers also its heroines. Our readers remember, no doubt, Madame de Sévigné's amusing letter to M. de Coulanges: "I am going to tell you the most astonishing thing, the most surprising, the

* July 31, 1675. † September 9, 1675.

most wonderful, the most miraculous, the most triumphant, the most startling, . . . a thing which causes every one to cry mercy; a thing which is to take place Sunday next, when those who are privileged to see it will think that their sight has become dim; a thing which is to take place on Sunday, and which, perhaps, may not have occurred on Monday."* Mademoiselle de Montpensier was forty-three years old when the news of her marriage with Lauzun was thus bruited abroad, and at her age it might have reasonably been supposed that sober reality and matter-of-fact incidents had taken permanently the place of hairbreadth escapes and extraordinary adventures. "La Grande Mademoiselle," as she was called, daughter of the well-known Duke d'Orléans, sole heiress to an immense fortune, and holding her court at the Palais Royal, survived as one of the few actresses in the *Fronde*. It was she who had prevented Louis XIV. from entering both Orléans and Paris. She had caused the guns of the Bastille to be fired upon the royal troops, and had thus apparently lost all her chances of success at Court. And yet in her case, as well as in that of many others, time had worked wonders. It seemed as if all the follies of the past were forgotten. She accompanied the king to Versailles, to Marly; no rejoicings, no parties, no balls were complete without her. There was only one thing which she could not get, and to which the king seemed perversely opposed, namely, a matrimonial

* Letter of December 15, 1670.

alliance. Her birth prevented her from marrying below the dignity of a prince; but if she should become the wife of a foreign prince, was it not to be feared lest she should transfer to him, in addition to her *Frondeuse* ideas, the rich territorial possessions she had in France? She might, indeed, have become the consort of Louis XIV.; but, as Mazarin remarked at that time, "The cannon of the Bastille had killed her husband." Time rolls on, and eighteen years after the battle of the Faubourg Saint Antoine, Mademoiselle, "destined to the throne," is announced as about to marry the younger son of a Gascon family, the Lauzuns, clever and cunning, small of stature, very fair of complexion; but quick, sharp, lively, greedy, and ambitious. Under the name of Puyguillem or Péguillem, he has come to push on his fortunes at Court, and has contrived to secure the favour of Louis XIV. This ill-assorted union might well create universal astonishment in the fashionable world. Would it really come to pass? Many people thought not, and it was considered doubtful whether the king, after all, would give his consent. Did not the whole affair seem like a romance? And, compared with the extraordinary career of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, how tame, how colourless were the adventures recorded in *Le Grand Cyrus* and *Clélie, histoire Romaine!* The romance had, indeed, its *dénouement* in a marriage, but a secret one. "I expressly forbid the marriage," said Louis XIV. His orders were disobeyed, and the proud daughter of Gaston, Duke d'Orléans,

carried away by her senseless passion, became the wife of a man who treated her with the utmost brutality. This melancholy conclusion of a beautiful dream finds its natural parallel in that of the *Fronde*. If the married life of Mademoiselle de Montpensier was to have been so unfortunate, would it not have been far better for her to have remained single? If the only result of the *Fronde* was the most complete despotism that ever weighed upon France, what was the use of the *Fronde?*

We are thus naturally led back to the cardinal, a brief appreciation of whose character forms the fitting conclusion of this chapter and the volume. Priolo's *De rebus Gallicis* is little read at the present day, and therefore the following description he gives us of Mazarin will have the merit of novelty, besides that of being written by a man who was intimately acquainted with the minister.

"Mazarin's features had nothing vulgar about them; they were rather agreeable than imposing. His was a lofty forehead, and an air of gentleness seemed stamped upon his face. It was difficult to approach him, because his door was besieged by a number of petitioners. This first obstacle once overcome, he was found to be extremely affable. He could so thoroughly control both his features and his words that at the very moment when he was most concealing his thought, he seemed to express it with the greatest sincerity. . . . He readily forgave those who had offended him, and many persons were astonished at seeing his late enemies now attached

to his person, sharing his pleasures and his anxieties." (M. Chéruel, from whom we borrow this quotation, here adds in a note, "We have seen that Lionne, Servien, Le Tellier, after having been treated by Mazarin as his enemies, became his auxiliaries and his confidential advisers.") "His clemency was always disarmed by submission, nor did he even punish obstinacy in rebellion. His natural sagacity was perfected by work; he slept little, and was sparing of leisure. All important affairs were treated by him immediately, and without the help of any intermediate agent.

"Knowing the value of money, he showed himself careful in the administration of the public exchequer" ("This praise is misapplied in the case of a minister who allowed Nicolas Fouquet to continue in the management of the treasury, although he was perfectly aware of his recklessness."—*Chéruel*); "at the same time, if we may credit common report, he was too greedy for his own private fortune. The magnificence of his residences and furniture, the number of his servants and retainers, eclipsed the retinue of the highest princes. No palace equalled in splendour that of the cardinal; it seemed as if he alone were commissioned to show to foreigners the richness and power of France. The king was not jealous of him, so careful was Mazarin, by his clever obsequiousness, to remove every suspicion of pride.

"He fathomed the secrets both of States and of private individuals. I do not believe that there

ever was a man so skilful in deceiving the French. He knew by his subtilty how to buoy up the hopes of those who sued for dignities; he won over to his side the nobles by the multiplicity of titles he conferred upon them. He had so thorough a command over his outward appearance that he seemed never to offend any one. . . . He had neither vanity nor haughtiness. Whether in prosperity or in adversity, his features were equally impassible; but not so his soul. If he was great during the epoch of his power, he appeared still more so when struck down by misfortune. . . . Steeped in dissimulation, he lent a ready ear to suspicions and calumnies. He was lavish of promises, but he seldom kept them; and when he did so, he lost all the merit of them by the disgusts and annoyances he obliged petitioners to put up with, besides keeping them for a long time in a state of suspense."

The portrait we have thus given seems to us a very fair one; but after having drawn the unfavourable side of Mazarin's character, we must now in all justice dwell upon his qualities, and upon the services he rendered to France. This, of course, we are better able to do than Priolo was, for the simple reason that the results of Cardinal Mazarin's administration were not completely perceptible till some years after his death. There is, besides, this important fact to be taken into consideration—that it was impossible to appreciate equitably Mazarin's services until access could be obtained to his diplomatic correspondence. Now, it is only recently

that such an investigation has been possible, and M. Mignet is the first historian who was able to avail himself of the treasures preserved at the French Foreign Office. The *Introduction aux négotiations relatives à la succession d'Espagne* was the earliest serious attempt made to appeal against the absurd and odious calumnies spread by the pamphlet-writers of the *Fronde* period, and reproduced by Voltaire. After M. Mignet, we have had Mr. Cousin, Mr. Henri Martin, and Mr. Gaillardin pursuing the same work of rehabilitation, and a complete study of Mazarin's letters has only served to confirm the favourable idea which M. Mignet had given us of the prime minister.

Mazarin's plan with reference to foreign affairs was simply to continue Richelieu's scheme, and to destroy the power of the House of Austria. Unfortunately, he was thwarted in the carrying-out of his designs, and the civil wars which for so many years brought to France destruction and misery, diverted his thoughts into a different channel. All sense of patriotism seemed to have disappeared; the principles of order, of justice, and of religion were gone; and the very name of the fatherland was so forgotten that even Frenchmen, in order to satisfy private pique and resentment, led foreign armies into France. Alone, Mazarin never betrayed any discouragement; he hoped on, and hoped to the end. "I trust," said he, "that France will do me the justice which other countries have done, and acknowledge that, whatever disappointments and

disagreeables I have had to endure, I never lost courage; and that if, during these latter times" (this was written in 1651) "it has not been in my power to steer the vessel of the State with the same success as heretofore, I have, at any rate, saved it from shipwreck when all were doing their best to bring about its destruction."

The cardinal's constant idea was to seek in the Paris *bourgeoisie* a support against the cabals of the Parliamentarians and the intrigues of the aristocracy. It was by the realization of such a plan that he managed to destroy the *Fronde;* and the great fact to establish was, that, in trampling underfoot the last vestiges of civil war, the king was only carrying out the natural and legitimate wishes of his subjects. In a sermon preached one year after Mazarin's death, Bossuet remarks, "In addition to the supreme science by virtue of which the prince commands, there is a subaltern one which teaches subjects to make themselves the worthy instruments of that higher guidance, and it is the relation existing between these two sciences which maintains the State by the harmony of the chief and of the members."

It would be, of course, absurd to ascribe to Mazarin alone the superior position which France occupied in 1661, and Marshal Turenne deserves to be mentioned as the man who, on the field of battle, had restored to his native country the rank which the civil war of the *Fronde* had made it lose. But, after all, Turenne was only an instrument in the

hand of the minister, and he merely carried out the plans conceived by a man of genius. The negotiations with England were of a singularly delicate nature; the league of the Rhine presented difficulties which extreme caution alone could overcome; the treaties of the Pyrenees and of Oliva may be safely regarded as masterpieces of diplomatic skill; all these were Mazarin's work, and his alone. Another important result due to the cardinal's influence was the education of Louis XIV., and his special training for the high and responsible part which God had destined him to occupy. The following letter of Mazarin is worth quoting on this important subject:—

"I have tried to serve you well; at least, I have employed my little talents for that purpose, and it has pleased God to bless my conduct by the kindness which He has for your sacred person and for the kingdom which He has placed under your authority. If once you take the helm, you will do more in one day than a person much superior to me in skill would do in six months. For what a king accomplishes is much weightier, and produces a great deal more dignity and impression, than what a minister can perform, however authorized he may be. I shall be the happiest of men if I see you, as I do not doubt, carry out the resolution you have taken to apply yourself to business; and I shall die most satisfied and happy as soon as I see you capable of governing by yourself, making use of your ministers only to hear their advice, taking advantage of that

advice so far as it may please you, and giving them afterwards the instructions which they shall have to carry out." *

If Mazarin had attended a little more than he did to the home administration of France; if he had managed the finances with greater integrity; if he had given a greater amount of his care to agriculture, commerce, industry, and the colonies; if, finally, he had been more scrupulous in the choice of his subordinates, he would have stood much higher in the opinion of posterity then he does now. We have quoted Priolo's unfavourable strictures on the cardinal's character; it is only fair to state now what the same writer says in his favour.

"In Mazarin's happy nature, the chief point was a harmony of remarkable qualities which was never marred by a longing for greatness. He knew how to maintain his reputation for clemency, even when the exercise of power required severity. His gentleness won for him more reputation than others have obtained by violent means. No innocent shade can pursue him with feelings of vengeance, or reproach him for public calamities or private distresses. He has well deserved of France, by adding several provinces to that kingdom, and making it suffer no dishonouring loss. We must remark, further, how far his time differed from that when Richelieu lived. Having on his side only a woman and a child, he had to fight against powerful rivals and redoubt-

* Letter preserved in the French Foreign Office, and quoted by M. Chéruel, *Ministère de Mazarin*, vol. iii. pp. 405, 406.

able enemies. Strong by the testimony of his conscience and the king's affection, he persecuted with courage a war rashly begun, and finished it gloriously. Comparable by the greatness of his genius to the most illustrious men that antiquity can boast of, he was buried in his triumph, surrounded by the applause of victory."

It is difficult not to draw a parallel here between Henry IV., Richelieu, and Mazarin. The Bearnese has remained to this day a popular monarch on account of certain qualities which the prime minister of Louis XIV. never possessed. He was naturally generous and honest; he never would have stooped to mean and unworthy tricks; he was quick and decided in his actions, courageous, and sympathetic; and he combined in the happiest manner a thoroughly national policy with an amount of *finesse*, wit, and good humour, which won him the affection of all those who came in his way. The impression produced by Richelieu was quite as strong, but instead of being the result of love and sympathy, it was that of admiration and respect. The greatness of his genius and the power of his iron will inspired a certain amount of awe, which was quite beyond control. The defects both of Henry IV. and of Richelieu were those characteristic of great and generous minds. Nothing of the sort could be found in Mazarin. People might indeed admire his indifference for public opinion and the skill with which he got out of the most trying difficulties; they might even sympathize with the low estimate

he formed of mankind when they considered the moral calibre of the adversaries against whom he had to contend; but, on the other hand, his sordid avarice, his double-dealing, his underhand habits, and his miserly disposition, excited and deserved universal contempt. The real and substantial good he did to France, the advantages he procured for the country of his adoption, and the dignity to which he restored it, can alone make us forget defects which in another public character would certainly have proved fatal.

Men of Mazarin's stamp, and possessing neither sensitiveness nor delicacy of feeling, bide their time; they are flexible and partial. "Richelieu," says a recent historian, "was too sagacious and fortunate ever to fall; had he fallen, he never would have risen again. Mazarin, thrice fallen and exiled, speedily climbed again with a cheerful and dauntless spirit." * He never felt his bruises, because he knew quite well that his opponents lacked the power of injuring him seriously. The generation amidst which he lived was too fond of money and of dignities to carry on a lasting opposition against him who held the purse-strings and the roll of lucrative appointments. So that, whereas Richelieu crushed the aristocracy, Mazarin made them his most humble slaves; he quieted them by his liberality, but at the same time he gave the power to a number of clever *bourgeois* who had no pretensions to high birth, and who, with the lowest bows

* Kitchin, *History of France*, vol. iii. p. 135.

and the most significant marks of respect, elbowed in the drawing-rooms of Versailles and Marly, the haughty but henceforth powerless representatives of a caste which counted no more in the edifice of the State than the gorgeous arm-chairs and the Boule furniture of the royal palace.

If, we repeat it, Mazarin's home administration had been equal to his foreign policy, no one could deny him the epithet of great, as he is certainly the last of the really illustrious cardinal-ministers who held in their hands the destinies of France. To compare Dubois, Fleury, and Bernis with George d'Amboise, Richelieu, and Mazarin, would be a paradox and a blunder.

# NOTES.

Page 39.—. . . *celebrated the auspicious event.* We cannot do better than supplement Mademoiselle de Scudéry's spirited account of the battle of Rocroy by Bossuet's admirable narrative in his funeral oration of the Prince de Condé. The subjoined description is not merely a model of genuine eloquence, but an exact *compte-rendu*, as the reader can easily ascertain by referring to the memoirs of La Moussaie, still unpublished, but preserved in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale. We quote a few parallel passages. "À l'âge de vingt deux ans, le duc conçut un dessein où les vieillards expérimentés ne purent atteinde; mais la victoire le justifie devant Rocroy. L'armée ennemie est plus forte, il est vrai; elle est composée de ces vieilles bandes Wallonnes, Italiennes et Espagnoles, qu'on n'avoit pu rompre jusqu'alors; mais pour combien falloit-il compter le courage qu'inspiroit à nos troupes le besoin pressant de l'État, les avantages passés et un jeune prince du sang qui portoit la victoire dans ses yeux? Don Francisco de Mellos l'attend de pied ferme; et, sans pouvoir reculer, les deux généraux et les deux armées sembloient avoir voulu se renfermer dans les bois et dans les marais, pour décider leur querelle, comme deux braves en champ-clos.* Alors que ne vit-on pas? Le jeune prince parut un

* *Comme deux braves en champ-clos.* La Moussaie: "Le conseil de se retirer ne pouvoit être pris d'aucun des chefs, et les deux armées se trouvoient enfermées dans une enceinte de bois comme dans un champ-clos." M. Chéruel remarks of Bossuet's phrase, "C'est la même image, mais relevée et perfectionnée par le grand orateur."

autre homme ; touchée d'un si digne objet, sa grande âme se déclara tout entière ; son courage croissoit avec les périls, et ses lumières avec son ardeur. A la nuit qu'il fallut passer en présence des ennemis, comme un vigilant capitaine, il reposa le dernier, mais jamais il ne reposa plus paisiblement. A la veille d'un si grand jour et dès la première bataille, il est tranquille, tant il se trouve dans son naturel ; et on sait que le lendemain, à l'heure marquée, il fallut réveiller d'un profond sommeil cet autre Alexandre. Le voyez-vous comme il vole, ou à la victoire, ou à la mort ? Aussitôt qu'il eut porté de rang en rang l'ardeur dont il étoit animé, on le vit presque en même temps pousser l'aile droite des ennemis, soutenir la nôtre ébranlée, rallier le Français à demi vaincu, mettre en fuite l'Espagnol victorieux, porter partout la terreur, et étonner de ses regards étincelants ceux qui échappoient à ses coups. Restoit cette redoutable infanterie de l'armée d'Espagne, dont les gros bataillons serrés, semblables à autant de tours, mais à des tours qui sauroient réparer leurs brèches, demeuroient inébranlables au milieu de tout le reste en déroute, et lançoient des feux de toutes parts. Trois fois le jeune vainqueur s'efforça de rompre ces intrépides combattants,* trois fois il fut repoussé par le valeureux comte de Fontaines, qu'on voyoit porté dans sa chaise, et, malgré ses infirmités, montrer qu'une âme guerrière est maîtresse du corps qu'elle anime ; mais enfin il faut céder. C'est en vain qu'à travers des bois, avec sa cavalerie toute fraîche, Beck précipite sa marche pour tomber sur nos soldats épuisés ; le prince l'a prévenu, les bataillons enfoncés demandent quartier ; mais la victoire va devenir plus terrible pour le duc d'Enghien que le combat. Pendant qu'avec un air assuré il s'avance pour recevoir la parole de ces braves gens, ceux-ci, toujours

* *Trois fois le jeune vainqueur s'efforça de rompre ces intrépides combattants.* La Moussaie : " Le comte de Fontaine l'attendit de pied ferme et défendit à ses troupes de tirer avant que les François fussent à soixante pas de leurs rangs. Puis leurs bataillons s'ouvrirent, et dix-huit canons chargés à mitraille vomirent la mort sur nos troupes, pendant que l'infanterie Espagnole faisoit un feu terrible de mousqueterie. Les François ne purent résister à ces décharges meurtrières : ils reculèrent en désordre, mais, comme les Espagnols n'avoient pas de cavalerie pour les poursuivre, le duc d'Enghien parvint à les rallier, et à les ramener au combat. Trois fois il recommença l'attaque contre les bataillons Espagnols, sans pouvoir les rompre."

en garde, craignent la surprise de quelque nouvelle attaque ; leur effroyable décharge met les nôtres en furie ; on ne voit plus que carnage ; le sang enivre le soldat, jusqu'à ce que le grand prince, qui ne put voir égorger ces lions comme de timides brebis, calma les courages émus, et joignit au plaisir de vaincre celui de pardonner. Quel fut alors l'étonnement de ces vieilles troupes et de leurs braves officiers, lorsqu'ils virent qu'il n'y avoit plus de salut pour eux qu'entre les bras du vainqueur ! de quels yeux regardèrent-ils le jeune prince, dont la victoire avoit relevé la haute contenance,* à qui la clémence ajoutoit de nouvelles grâces ! Qu'il eût encore volontiers sauvé la vie au brave comte de Fontaines ! mais il se trouva par terre parmi ces milliers de morts dont l'Espagne sent encore la perte. Elle ne savoit pas que le prince qui lui fit perdre tant de ses vieux régiments à la journée de Rocroy en devoit achever les restes dans les plaines de Lens. Ainsi, la première victoire fut le gage de beaucoup d'autres. Le prince fléchit le genou, et dans le champ de bataille il rend au Dieu des armées la gloire qu'il lui envoyoit ; là on célébra Rocroy délivré, les menaces d'un redoutable ennemi tournées à sa honte, la régence affermie, la France en repos, et un règne, qui devoit être si beau, commencé par un si heureux présage. L'armée commença l'action de grâces ; toute la France suivit ; on y élevoit jusqu'au ciel le coup d'essai du duc d'Enghien ; c'en seroit assez pour illustrer une autre vie que la sienne, mais pour lui c'est le premier pas de sa course."

Page 51.—"This commander, 'whom the Prince de Condé

* *La haute contenance.* La Moussaie: "Toute l'infanterie d'Espagne se pressoit en foule autour de lui et de ses principaux officiers pour y trouver un asile contre la furie des François et principalement des Suisses, qui ne pouvoient se résoudre à faire des prisonniers."

The following portrait of Condé is taken from the Duke d'Aumale's *Histoire des Princes de Condé* (vols. 3, 4, recently published):—"Louis de Bourbon was of the middle height, thin, well proportioned, delicate in appearance, but muscular, and inured to manly exercises, to the use of arms, and to horsemanship. A growing moustache scarcely covered a somewhat thick lip; the mouth was large, the chin retreating, the cheek-bones prominent; the arched profile of the face exaggerated what is commonly called the Bourbon type; the brow was very fine; the eyes of a deep blue, rather too much on a line with the forehead, but very handsome. The look of the prince was piercing, and his whole person inspired a singular and subjugating charm."

and the vigilant Turenne never once surprised in a false movement, and to whom they have rendered this notable testimony, that he never let a favourable opportunity slip, that he never failed to anticipate their plans, as though he had taken part in their councils,—this general, we say, does not hold that place in history which his capacity and merits have made his due. The man who conducted the offensive movements of Tuttlingen and Mergentheim, who prepared the defensive battles of Freiburg, who withdrew his troops from the defile of Saint Peter, who improvised the defence of Allerheim, who combined the operations of the Bavarian army in 1643, 1644, and 1645, ought to have appeared upon Napoleon's list of masters of war. Why is he so little known, so coldly eulogized? Is it because he was a stranger to the troops he led in origin and in language (Mercy was a Lorrainer), or because he perished in a battle won by his antagonist? He was, it seems, very soon forgotten." (La Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé.*)

Page 54.— . . . *and was sent to the Bastille.* "La campagne de Catalogne finie de cette manière, nous revenions médiocrement couverts de lauriers. Mais comme M. le Prince en avoit fait provision en d'autres rencontres, et qu'il avoit de grands desseins en tête, il eut bientôt oublié cette petite disgrâce. Nous ne faisions que goguenarder pendant le voyage. M. le Prince étoit le premier à nous mettre en train sur son siége. Nous fîmes quelques couplets sur ces *Lérida*, qui ont tant couru, afin qu'on n'en fit pas de plus mauvais. Nous n'y gagnâmes rien ; nous eûmes beau nous traiter cavalièrement dans nos chansons, on en fit à Paris où l'on nous traitoit encore plus mal." (*Mémoires du Chevalier de Grammont.*)

Page 86.— . . . *as quiet as if it had been Good Friday.* We cannot help smiling when we read in contemporary memoirs the effect produced by Broussel's arrest: "C'est ici, cher lecteur, et qui que tu sois, que tu dois suspendre et arrêter ton esprit ; c'est ici que tu dois admirer les ouvrages du Souverain des Dieux, et reconnoitre qu'il n'abandonne jamais la vertu, quoique persécutée. C'est enfin sur ce héros que tu dois jeter les yeux, qui est beaucoup plus illustre que ceux de l'antiquité, quand même tu prendrois pour des vérités les fables qu'on a inventées pour les rendre plus célèbres." (*Histoire du Temps.*)

Page 101.— . . . *against the authority of the queen.* The Bordelais Fronde was called *l'Ormée,* from the fact that the

disaffected used to assemble near a square planted with elm trees (*ormes*). The members of the *Ormée* assumed the name of *Ormistes*, and organized a tribunal or court (*l'Ormière*), the decisions and sentences of which were final. They had also a journal, *Le Courier Bordelois*. (See La Rochefoucauld's *Memoirs* in Hachette's *Collection des Grands Écrivains*, vol. ii. p. 349.)

Page 111.—*The engagement of the Faubourg St. Antoine.* "Le fameux combat de St. Antoine, sérieusement considéré, n'est qu'un acte de désespoir, une héroïque et vaine protestation du courage contre la fortune : le succès ne remédiait à rien, et on devait s'attendre à une défaite où Condé pouvait laisser sa gloire et sa vie." (V. Cousin, *Madame de Longueville pendant la Fronde.*)

Page 148.— . . . *playing with loaded dice.* "Au sortir du Colisée, il apprit à piper, ce qui lui attira des coups de bâton d'un orfèvre de Rome nommé Moreto. Il fut capitaine d'infanterie en Valteline ; et Bagni, qui était son général, m'a dit qu'il ne passa dans sa guerre, qui ne fut que de trois mois, que pour un escroc." (*Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz*, vol. i. pp. 283, 284—*Collection des Grands Écrivains.*)

Page 180.—. . . *and did so much honour to the Gallican Church.* The following touching epitaph on the great Arnauld is by Boileau :—

"Au pied de cet autel de structure grossière,
Gît sans pompe, enfermé dans une vile bière,
Le plus savant mortel qui jamais ait écrit,
Arnauld, qui, sur la grâce instruit par Jésus Christ,
Combattant pour l'Église, a dans l'Église même,
Souffert plus d'un outrage, et plus d'un anathème.
Plein du feu qu'en son cœur souffla l'Esprit divin,
Il terrassa Pélage, il foudroya Calvin,
De tous les faux docteurs confondit la morale.
Mais, pour fruit de son zèle, on l'a va rebuté,
En cent lieux opprimé par leur noire cabale,
Errant, pauvre, banni, proscrit, persécuté ;
Et même par sa mort leur fureur mal éteinte,
N'auroit jamais laissé ses cendres en repos,
Si Dieu lui-même ici de son ouaille sainte
À ces loups dévorants n'avoit caché les os."

Page 157.—The character of the *traitants*, or farmers of the taxes, under the *ancien régime* has been accurately and vividly described by Richelieu, and later on by Mirabeau. The follow-

ing appreciation is remarkable, proceeding, as it does, from an English writer:—"The farmers of the public revenue never find the laws too severe which punish any attempt to evade the payment of a tax. They have no bowels for the contributors, who are not their subjects, and whose universal bankruptcy, if it should happen the day after their farm is expired, would not much affect their interest. In the greatest exigencies of the State, when the anxiety of the sovereign for the exact payment of his revenue is necessarily the greatest, they seldom fail to complain that without laws more rigorous than those which actually take place, it will be impossible for them to pay even the usual rent. In those moments of public distress their demands cannot be disputed. The revenue laws, therefore, become gradually more and more severe. The most sanguinary are always to be found in countries where the greater part of the public revenue is in farm . . . the farmers of the revenue, whose grandeur may frequently be the effect of the ruin, and not of the prosperity of the people." (Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, book v. chap. ii.)

Page 207.—. . . *the old Duke de Caumont La Force.* See a biographical notice in *La France Protestante*, vol. iii. (2nd edition), columns 867–888. Although he took no part in the wars of the Fronde, his sons and grandsons declared in favour of Condé against the government.

Page 251.—. . . *the fanciful character of some of the etymologies he proposes.* The following epigram by the Chevalier d'Aceilly is meant to illustrate Ménage's etymological vagaries:—

> "*Alfana* vient *d'equus*, sans doute,
> Mais il faut avouer aussi
> Qu'en venant de là jusqu' ici
> Il a bien changé sur la route."

Page 260.—. . . *that ingenious man who, notwithstanding Boileau's epigrams.* . . . There were three brothers Perrault. Charles, the critic, was the one whose depreciation of the writers of antiquity had excited the wrath of our satirist; but as Claude, the architect, frequently assisted him in his literary work, Boileau directed against him also the shafts of his wit.

Before applying himself to architecture, Claude Perrault had been a successful medical practitioner, hence a spiteful passage in the *Art poétique*—

"Notre assassin renonce à son art inhumain;
Et désonnais, la règle et l'équerre à la main,
Laissant de Galien la science suspecte,
De mauvais médecin devient bon architecte."

Perrault having answered this satire by a fable entitled *Le Corbeau guéri par la Cigogne, ou l'ingrat parfait,* Boileau retorted thus :

"Oui, j'ai dit dans mes vers qu'un célèbre assassin,
Laissant de Galien la science infertile,
D'ignorant médecin devint maçon habile :
Mais de parler de vous je n'eus jamais dessein,
Perrault, ma muse est trop correcte ;
Vous êtes, je l'avoue, ignorant médecin,
Mais non pas habile architecte."

Page 272.—. . . *a national calamity.* The Duke d'Aumale thus sums up the result of Condé's campaigns :—"The annals of war present nothing analogous to these three consecutive campaigns, rich in their fruits, and obscured by no reverses. If, every spring, there is a general change in the theatre and in the actors, whether enemies or friends, nevertheless certain well-defined traits are to be discovered in the conduct of the operations : forethought in preparation for the field ; vigilance in command ; simple, distinct, and judicious conceptions ; the accurate execution of strategic combinations ; the highest ability in varying tactical movements ; boldness ; perseverance ; sudden and strong inspiration in action ; sound judgment ; rapid decision ; elevation of political views to confirm success ; and to make it yield its rewards. These qualities have seldom been found united ; such great and different powers have seldom been exercised in so constant and so regular a way. It is possible to blame Louis de Bourbon for his ardour, his impatience, his contempt of natural obstacles ; for his habitual disposition to take, as they say, the bull by the horns. As each battle is fought, his temerity appears to increase, and his sacrifice of men becomes larger. Yet could he, at a less price, have destroyed the Spanish infantry, and made an end of the Bavarians ? Who shall affirm that he could ? No matter what efforts he demanded of his troops, he inspired them from the first with a confidence which continually increased. No general has had more devoted soldiers, or has obtained equal sacrifices from his men." (*Histoire des Princes de Condé.*)

# STATISTICAL LISTS ILLUSTRATING THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV. TILL THE DEATH OF CARDINAL MAZARIN.

## TABLE I.

### AUTHORITIES.

S. H. F. = Société de l'histoire de France.
Mi. = Michaud et Poujoulat.
P. = Petitot et Montmerqué.

As in the case of the reign of Louis XIII., we shall give here a kind of catalogue containing the chief *mémoires pour servir* and *pièces justificatives* illustrating Cardinal Mazarin's administration.

1. *Lettres du Cardinal Mazarin pendant son ministère* (*Documents Inédits*), vols. i.–iii., 4to. This important publication, edited by M. Chéruel, should be carefully studied. Several letters of Mazarin will be found in the following works:—*Négociations Secrètes touchant la paix de Munster*, La Haye, 1725, 4 vols., fs.; *Correspondance de Colbert*, publiés par M. Pierre Clément, 4to, vol. i. The late M. Cousin published a summary of Mazarin's memorandum books (*Carnets*) in the *Journal des Savants* for 1885.

2. *Lettres de Mazarin à la Reine, etc., pendant son exil* [1651, 1652], 1 vol. 8vo (S. H. F.)

3. Orléans (Gaston, Duc d'), *Mémoires* [1608–1635], Mi. ii. 9, P. ii. 34. "Offrent plusieurs particularités curieuses, et portent sur tout un grand caractère de vérité" (Petitot).

4. Arnauld d'Andilly (Robert), *Mémoires sur sa vie* [1600–1656], Mi. ii. 9, P. ii. 33, 34. "Il raconte, mais il abrège" (Sainte-Beuve).

5. Montrésor (Claude Bourdeilles, Comte de), *Mémoires* [1632–1637], Mi. iii. P. ii. 54. They are written with sincerity.

6. Campion (Henri de), *Mémoires* [1616–1660]. Essentially honest.

7. Chouppes (Aymar, Marquis de), *Mémoires*. Interesting.

8. Navailles (Philippe de Montault de Bénac, Duc de), *Mémoires* [1630–1682]. Very sober and reserved in their appreciation of men and things.

9. Motteville (Françoise Berthauld, Dame de). Her memoirs of Anne of Austria [1611–1666] are sincere, written in an agreeable manner, but somewhat too diffuse. Mi. ii. 10, P. ii. 36–40.

10. Tallemant des Réaux (Gédéon), *Historiettes*. One of the wittiest of memoir-writers. The stories he tells us are amusing, but too often of a *scabreux* character.

11. Gramont (Antoine, Maréchal Duc de), *Mémoires* [1630–1677]. "Narration vive et animée ; a une certaine couleur Gasconne."

12. La Guette (Catherine Meurdrac, Dame de), *Mémoires* [1613–1672]. Interesting for the history of the Fronde.

13. Bussy (Roger de Rabutin, Comte de), *Mémoires* [1634–1666]. An excellent writer, but a man of no dignity of character.

14. Arnauld (Antoine), *Mémoires contenant quelques anecdotes sur la cour de France* [1634–1655], Mi. ii. 9, P. ii. 34. "Agréable" (Sainte-Beuve).

15. Montglat (François de Paul de Clermont, Marquis de), *Mémoires* [1635–1660], Mi. iii. 5, P. ii. 49–51. "Ses mémoires offrent des renseignements précieux."

16. Brienne (Henri Auguste de Loménie, Comte de) [1613–1661], *Mémoires sur les règnes de Louis XIII. et Louis XIV*. "Précieux par leur exactitude." Mi. iii. 3, P. ii. 35, 36.

17. Talon (Omer), *Mémoires* [1630–1653]. One of the most distinguished French lawyers of the age. Mi. iii. 6, P. ii. 60–63.

18. La Rochefoucauld (François, Duc de). "Ses mémoires (sur la régence d'Anne d'Autriche) expliquent pour une bonne part ses maximes" (Vinet).

19. Retz (Jean François Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de), *Mémoires* [1628–1655]. "Incomparable dans ses portraits, qui sont moins des figures que des caractères" (Géruzez).

20. Joly (Guy). "Ses mémoires [1648–1665] sont la contre-partie de ceux du Cardinal de Retz."

21. Nemours (Marie d'Orléans, Duchesse de). "Mémoires piquants, spirituels, mais un peu secs" (Sainte-Beuve).

22. Lenet (Pierre), *Mémoires sur les guerres civiles des années* 1649 *et suivantes.* "Portent le cachet de la franchise."

23. La Porte (Pierre de), *Mémoires* [1624–1666]. "Intéressants plutôt pour la connaissance de l'intérieur de la cour que pour les faits historiques" (Petitot).

24. Tavannes (Jacques de Saulx, Comte de), *Mémoires* [1650–1652]. (?–?) Balthazar, *Histoire de la guerre de Guyenne* [1651–1653]. These memoirs, which complete one another, show what influence the Fronde movement had over the government of Louis XIV.

25. Cosnac (Daniel de), *Mémoires.* The autobiography of a clever man mixed up with all the intrigues of the Court of Versailles.

26. Montpensier (Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans, Duchesse de). "Ses mémoires [1627–1688] sont très intéressants et très véridiques" (Sainte-Beuve), Mi. iii. 4, P. ii. 40–43.

27. Gourville (Hérauld de), *Mémoires* [1642–1678]. "Gil Blas supérieur, Figaro sans mauvais goût" (Sainte-Beuve).

28. Feuquières (Antoine de Pas, Marquis de), *Mémoires sur la guerre.* Voltaire made considerable use of them whilst writing his *Siècle de Louis XIV.*

29. *Registres de l'hôtel de Ville pendant la Fronde* (Société de l'hist. de France). Invaluable for the history of the regency of Anne of Austria.

30. *Les Mazarinades.* The selection published by M. Moreau (Société de l'hist. de France) contains the cream of these interesting squibs.

31. *Les courriers burlesques de la Fronde,* publiés par C. Moreau. Amusing gossip on the civil war.

32. Olivier Lefèvre d'Ormesson (1661–1672), *Journal* (*Documents historiques*). "Tous ceux qui s'occupent de cette période du XVII^e^ siècle ont à profiter avec lui" (Sainte-Beuve).

33. Sévigné (Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, Marquise de), *Lettres.* "Dans ces lettres, il faut tout lire, tout suivre, tout dévider" (Sainte-Beuve).

34. Loret (Jean), *La Muze Historique.* A tedious but very accurate rhymed journal of the Court of Versailles. 4 vols. 8vo.

35. Colbert (Jean-Baptiste), *Lettres, Instructions, et Mémoires.* "A most important collection of State papers."

36. *Archives de la Bastille*, publiées par F. Ravaisson. An interesting collection of *pièces justificatives* on the trial of Fouquet, the *chambre des poisons*, etc.

37. Turenne (Maréchal de), *Lettres et Mémoires* [1627–1658], Mi. iii. 3. "Ouvrage estimé" (Lalanne).

38. Châtre (Comte de la), *Mémoires* [1638–1643], Mi. iii. 3, P. ii. 51. "Font connaître la cabale des Importants."

39. Sirot (Baron de), *Mémoires* (1615–1650). "Very interesting."

40. Molé (Mathieu) *Mémoires* (S. H. F.). "The papers published as being Molé's memoirs are of very little value."

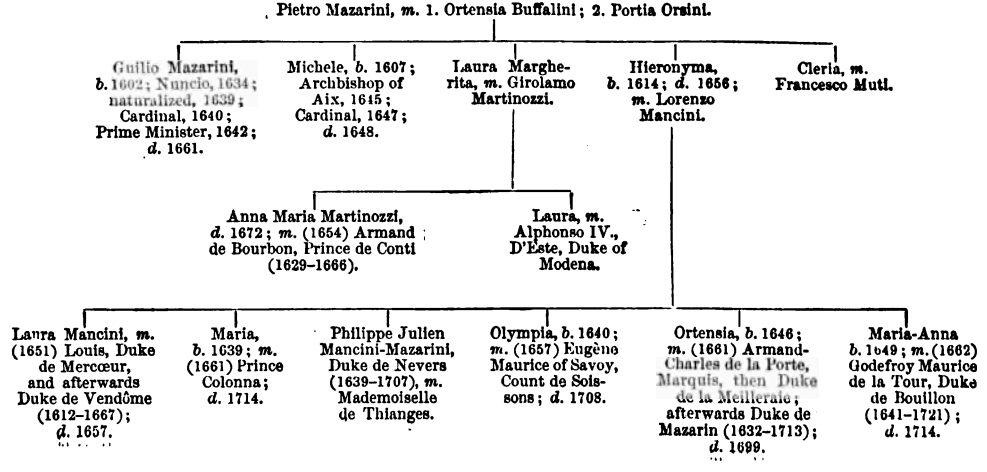
41. Priolo (Benjamin), History (*in Latin*) of the first years of the reign of Louis XIV. "Ecrit avec une liberté bien éloignée de la flatterie" (Bayle).

42. Patin (Guy), *Lettres* (1645–1672). "L'écho de la bourgeoisie Frondeuse."

# TABLE II.

## GENEALOGY OF THE MAZARIN FAMILY.

(*b.*, *m.*, *d.*, stand respectively for *born*, *married*, *died*.)


Pietro Mazarini, m. 1. Ortensia Buffalini; 2. Portia Orsini.
Giulio Mazarini, b. 1602; Nuncio, 1634; naturalized, 1639; Cardinal, 1640; Prime Minister, 1642; d. 1661.
Michele, b. 1607; Archbishop of Aix, 1645; Cardinal, 1647; d. 1648.
Laura Margherita, m. Girolamo Martinozzi.
Hieronyma, b. 1614; d. 1656; m. Lorenzo Mancini.
Cleria, m. Francesco Muti.
Anna Maria Martinozzi, d. 1672; m. (1654) Armand de Bourbon, Prince de Conti (1629–1666).
Laura, m. Alphonso IV., D'Este, Duke of Modena.
Laura Mancini, m. (1651) Louis, Duke de Mercœur, and afterwards Duke de Vendôme (1612–1667); d. 1657.
Maria, b. 1639; m. (1661) Prince Colonna; d. 1714.
Philippe Julien Mancini-Mazarini, Duke de Nevers (1639–1707), m. Mademoiselle de Thianges.
Olympia, b. 1640; m. (1657) Eugène Maurice of Savoy, Count de Soissons; d. 1708.
Ortensia, b. 1646; m. (1661) Armand-Charles de la Porte, Marquis, then Duke de la Meilleraie; afterwards Duke de Mazarin (1632–1713); d. 1699.
Maria-Anna b. 1649; m. (1662) Godefroy Maurice de la Tour, Duke de Bouillon (1641–1721); d. 1714.

# TABLE III.

## THE ACADÉMIE FRANÇAISE.

List of the members elected during Mazarin's administration.

| FAUTEUIL. | |
|---|---|
| 1. | Salomon, 1644. |
| 8. | Pierre du Ryer, 1646. |
| | Cardinal d'Estrées, 1658. |
| 9. | Pierre Corneille, 1647. |
| 10. | J. Ballesdens, 1648. |
| 11. | Tristan L'Hermite, 1649. |
| | La Mesnardière, 1655. |
| 12. | Mézeray, 1649. |
| 13. | J. de Montreuil, 1649. |
| | Fr. Tallemant, 1651. |
| 14. | Scudéry, 1644. |
| 15. | J. Doujat, 1650. |

| FAUTEUIL. | |
|---|---|
| 16. | Charpentier, 1651. |
| 17. | A. Duc de Coislin, 1652. |
| 19. | H. de Péréfixe de Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris, 1651. |
| 20. | De Chaumont, 1656. |
| 21. | Cotin, 1655. |
| 22. | Villayer, 1659. |
| 23. | Gilles Boileau, 1659. |
| 24. | J. C. Cassagne, 1661. |
| 30. | J. B. Colbert, 1660. |

# TABLE IV.

## PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF COLBERT'S BUDGET FOR 1662.

*(It is interesting to compare the first budget of the great financial reformer, Colbert, with that of Cardinal Richelieu.)*

### CREDITOR'S ACCOUNT.

| | Livres. |
|---|---|
| 1. LES FERMES (*Aides*, or indirect taxes raised by the medium of financiers who farm them) ... ... ... | 39,819,000 |
| 2. RECETTES (*Tailles*, or direct taxes) :— | |
| (*a*) *Pays d'états* (taxed themselves) : | |
| Artois ... ... ... ... | 314,000 |
| Bourgogne ... ... ... | 700,000 |
| Bresse, Bugey, Valromey, Gex ... | 150,000 |
| Bretagne ... ... ... | 1,500,000 |
| Languedoc ... ... ... | 1,500,000 |
| Provence (no returns ; either the subsidies had not been voted, or they had been refused). | |
| (*b*) *Pays d'élection* (taxed by the officers of the Crown) ... ... ... | 41,604,807 |
| | 85.587,807 |

| | L. | *s.* | *d.** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Through mismanagement, dishonesty, or other causes, the actual produce of the taxes was little more than | 75,000,000 | 0 | 0 |
| | 71,753,093 | 8 | 5 |
| Balance on the creditor's side ... | 3,246,906 | 11 | 7 |

### DEBTOR'S ACCOUNT.

| | L. | *s.* | *d.** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Army, Navy, Artillery ... ... | 9,238,458 | 7 | 2 |
| Household expenses ... ... | 4,547,344 | 2 | 10 |
| Salaries ... ... ... ... | 3,467,295 | 0 | 0 |
| Purchase of Dunkirk from the English | 4,674,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Pensions ... ... ... | 1,760,805 | 0 | 0 |
| Sundries ... ... ... ... | 19,418,253 | 9 | 5 |
| Anticipations made by Fouquet on the receipts for 1662 ... ... | 28,646,937 | 9 | 0 |
| | 71,753,093 | 8 | 5 |

These letters stand for *livres*, *sous*, *deniers* respectively.

# TABLE V.

## THE PARLIAMENT DURING THE MINISTRY OF CARDINAL MAZARIN.

The important part played during Mazarin's administration by the Parliament of Paris justifies us in giving the following *résumé*, which is compiled from the best authorities on the subject.

1. PERSONS COMPOSING THE PARLIAMENT:
   (*a*) The King. The Princes of the Royal Family. The peers, both lay and ecclesiastical [*six ecclesiastical peers*—Archbishop of Reims, Bishops of Laon, Langres, Beauvais, Châlons, and Noyon; *a variable number of lay peers*].
   (*b*) The Chancellor; the *conseillers d'honneur;* four *maîtres des requêtes du conseil du roi.*
   (*c*) The *Procureur-général* (solicitor) and his *substituts* (assistants); three *avocats du roi* (King's counsel).
   (*d*) Two *premiers présidents* (senior presidents); nine *présidents à mortier* [so called on account of the cap which they wore (*mortier*, L. *mortarium*)]; several councillors.
   (*e*) *Subaltern officers. Greffier en chef* (chief registrar; L. *graphiarius*, G. γραφίον) for civil cases, one for criminal cases, and one for presentations; four notaries; one usher-in-chief (*huissier*, from O. F. *huis*, a door; L. *ostium*), and twenty-two under-ushers.

2. COURTS COMPOSING THE PARLIAMENT:
   (*a*) *La grand'chambre*, where were held the *beds of justice*, and where letters of grace, pardon, abolition, etc., had to be presented and examined; the bench of the *grand'-chambre* comprised the senior president, the four senior *présidents à mortier*, twenty-five lay and twelve ecclesiastical councillors.
   (*b*) *La chambre de la Tournelle*, established in 1453, and so called because it was held in a building connected

with a small tower (*tournelle*) belonging to the palace,* took sole cognizance of criminal cases. The bench included five *présidents à mortier;* ten councillors of the *grand'chambre*, who sat in rotation for six months; and two councillors belonging to the *chambres des enquêtes*, who sat in like manner for three months.

(*c*) *Chambres des enquêtes* (three in number). For the preliminary examination of cases in appeal. Two presidents and twenty-seven councillors.

(*d*) *Chambres des requêtes* (two in number). Decided the cases brought immediately before the parliament. One president and fourteen councillors.

(*e*) *Chambre des vacations.* Judged preliminary civil cases, and all criminal ones during the vacations of the ordinary courts. One *président à mortier* and twenty-four councillors, of whom twelve were taken from the *grand'chambre*, and twelve from the *chambres des enquêtes.*

The above were *permanent* courts; the following were only of a *temporary* character:—

(*a*) *Chambre du conseil.* Its powers were very similar to those of the *grand'chambre.*

(*b*) *Tournelle civile.* Established in 1667 for the purpose of relieving the *grand'chambre*, which was often overburdened. The *Tournelle civile* was often suppressed and re-established.

(*c*) *Chambres de l'édit* (de Nantes, 1598). Decided the cases between Catholics and Protestants. Attached to the parliaments of Paris and Rouen. Consisted of a president and seven councillors, two of whom were Protestants. Were suppressed in 1669.

(*d*) *Chambres mi-parties.* These courts were very similar, both in constitution and in functions, to the *chambre de l'édit.* They were limited to the provinces of Guyenne, Languedoc, and Dauphiné.

(*e*) *Chambre de droit écrit.* Decided in cases instituted in the provinces belonging to the *Langue d'oc*, where written (Roman) law obtained instead of custom law.

(*f*) *Grands jours.* Courts or assizes held in the various

* M. Chéruel (*Dictionnaire Historique*) says that the origin of the name *Tournelle* arises from the fact that "les membres qui composaient la chambre étaient fournis *à tour de rôle* par les autres chambres.

provinces of the kingdom, with the view of settling cases which the ordinary judges could not decide, repressing local iniquities and abuses of power, etc.

(*g*) *Chambres ardentes*, or *chambres de justice*. Courts made up of royal commissioners, and held to try financiers accused on charges of malversation. Fouquet was tried by a *chambre ardente*.

List of provincial parliaments, arranged in the order of their creation :

1272. Toulouse.
1451. Grenoble.
1462. Bordeaux.
1476. Bourges, or Dijon.
1499. Normandy.
1502. Aix.
1538. Dombes.
1553. Brittany.
1620. Pau.
1633. Metz.
1637. Nancy.

## THE COUR DES COMPTES

was not, properly speaking, part of the parliament. Its functions consisted in examining and regulating the accounts of the government officers, settling everything connected with the management of the royal domains and the temporalities of the Church. Principal officers : one first president, and twelve others ; seventy-eight masters (*maitres des comptes*), who delivered judgment ; thirty-eight revisers (*correcteurs*) ; a hundred and eighty-two clerks (*auditeurs*), who had to draw up the reports ; one attorney-general ; one solicitor-general.

# TABLE VI.

*The following lists may be considered as a kind of* NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, *or catalogue of the principal political characters who played a part during the administration of Cardinal Mazarin.* (The dates of nominations are in brackets.)

## A.—The Magistracy.

*Chancellors of France, Keepers of the Seals.*

Pierre Séguier (1633), Keeper of the Seals; (1635–1650), Chancellor.
Mathieu Molé (1651–1656).
Pierre Séguier (1651), and again (1656–1672).

*Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*

Henri Auguste de Loménie, Comte de Brienne (1643–1663).

## B.—The Nobility.

*Peerages created during Mazarin's administration.*

| | Created in |
|---|---|
| Coligny-Châtillon (duke) | 1643 |
| La Roche-Guyon (duke) | 1643 |
| Rohan (duke, *new erection*) | 1648 |
| Cœuvres-Estrées (duke) | 1646 |
| Damville (duke, *new erection*) | 1648 |
| Tresmes-Gesvres (duke) | 1648 |
| Gramont (duke) | 1648 |
| Châteauvillain-Vitry (duke) | 1650 |
| La Vieuville (duke) | 1650 |
| Navailles (duke) | 1650 |
| Noirmoutier (duke) | 1650 |
| Séverac-Arpajon (duke) | 1650 |
| Lavedan (duke) | 1650 |
| Villemor (duke) | 1650 |
| Mortemart (duke) | 1650 |
| Villeroy (duke) | 1651 |
| Bournonville (duke) | 1652 |
| Roquelaure (duke) | 1652 |
| Verneuil (duke) | 1652 |
| Poix-Créquy (duke) | 1652 |
| Albret and Château-Kierry (duke) | 1652 |
| Villars-Brancas (duke) | 1652 |
| Béthune-Orval (duke) | 1652 |

| | Created in |
|---|---|
| Caumont de Plancage (Arpajon, duke) | 1655 |
| Coulommiers (duke) | 1656 |
| Montmirail (baron) | 1657 |
| Eu (count, *new erection*) | 1660 |
| Montaut (duke) | 1660 |
| Nevers (duke, *new erection*) | 1660 |
| Bourbon (duke) | 1661 |
| Orléans, Chartres, and Valois (duke, *new erection*) | 1661 |
| Piney-Luxembourg (duke, *confirmed*) | 1661 |
| Randan-Foix (duke) | 1661 |

C.—Chief Officers of the King's Household.

1. *Grand Almoner of France.*—Antoine Barberino, Archbishop of Reims (1653).
2. *Grand Master* ("Grand Maître," head of the king's household).—Henri II. de Bourbon, Prince de Condé (1641)—Louis II. de Bourbon, Prince de Condé (1647)—Thomas François de Savoie, Prince de Carignan (1654)—Armand de Bourbon, Prince de Conti (1656)—Henri Jules de Bourbon, Duke d'Enghien, then Prince de Condé (1660).
3. *Master of the Horse* ("Grand Écuyer," generally known as *Monsieur le Grand*).—Henri de Lorraine, Count d'Harcourt (1643).
4. *Chief Huntsman* ("Grand Veneur").—Louis de Rohan, Prince de Guémené, Duke de Montbazon (1654).
5. *Chief Falconer* ("Grand Fauconnier").—Louis Charles d'Albert, Duke de Luynes (1643)—Nicholas Dauvet, Count des Marets (1650).

D.—The Army.

1. *Colonel-General of the French Infantry.*—Bernard de Nogaret de la Valette, Duke d'Épernon (1610).
2. *Colonel-General of the Swiss and Grisons.*—Marshal de Schomberg (1647)—Count de Soissons (1657).
3. *Admiral of France.*—The office of *grand-amiral*, suppressed, together with that of *constable*, was replaced by that of *grand maître, chef et surintendant général de la navigation et du commerce de France.* Richelieu's successors in that post were: Armand de Maillé, Marquis de Brézé (1643)—*Anne of Austria* (1646)—César, Duke de Vendôme and de Beaufort (1650)—François de Vendôme, Duke de Beaufort (1651).

4. *Marshals of France.*—François de L'Hôpital, Seigneur du Hallier (1643)—Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne (1643)—Jean de Gassion (1643)—César, Duke de Choiseul, Count du Plessis-Praslin (1645)—Josias, Count de Rantzau (1645)—Nicholas de Neuville, Duke de Villeroy (1646)—Antoine, Duke d'Aumont (1651)—Jacques d'Estampes, Marquis de la Ferté-Imbault (1651)—Charles de Mouchy, Marquis d'Hocquincourt (1651)—Henri de Saint-Nectaire, Duke de la Ferté (1651)—Jacques Rouxel, Count de Grancey (1651) Armand Nompar de Caumont, Duke de la Force (1652)—Philippe de Clérambault, count de Palluau (1652)—César Phébus d'Albret, Count de Miossens (1652)—Louis Foucault, Count du Daugnon (1653)—Jacques, Marquis de Castelnau (1658)—Jean de Schulemberg, Count de Mondejeu (1658)—Abraham de Fabert (1658).

## E.—The Church.

1. *Archbishopric of—*
   Aix.* Michel Mazarin (1645)—Jérôme de Grimaldi (1648).

*Suffragan Bishops—*
   Apt. Modeste de Villeneuve des Arcs (1630).
   Fréjus. Joseph Zongo Ondedei (1654).
   Gap. Artus de Lionne (1637).
   Riez. Louis Doni d'Attichy (1628)—Nicolas de Valavoire (1652).
   Sisteron. Toussaint de Glandeves de Cujes (1607)—Antoine III. d'Arbaud de Matheron (1648).

2. *Archbishopric of—*
   Albi (was a bishopric till 1678). Gaspard de Daillon (1635).

*Suffragan Bishops—*
   Cahors. Alain de Solminihac (1636)—Nicholas Sevin (1660).
   Castres. Jean VII. de Fossé (1632)—Charles François d'Anglure de Bourlemont (1657).
   Mende. Sylvestre de Cruzy de Marcillac (1628)—Hyacinthe Serroni (1661).
   Rodez. Charles de Noailles (1646)—Hardouin de Péréfixe (1648).
   Vabres. François II. de la Valette (1622)—Isaac Habert (1646)

* Now joined to Arles and Embrun.

3. *Archbishopric of*—
ARLES. Jean Jaubert de Barrant (1630)—François II. Adhémar de Monteil de Grignan (1643).
*Suffragan Bishops*—
MARSEILLES. Jean Baptiste II., Gault (1642)—Etienne du Puget (1643).
ORANGE. Jean Vincent de Tulles (1640)—Hyacinthe Serroni (1646).
SAINT PAUL-TROIS-CHÂTEAUX. Jacques II., Adhémar de Monteil de Grignan (1643)—Claude Ruffier (1657).
TOULON. Jacques II. Danès de Marly (1640)—Pierre VI., Pingré (1658).
4. *Archbishopric of*—
AUCH. Dominique de Vic (1629)—Henri de la Mothe-Houdancourt (1662).
*Suffragan Bishops*—
AIRE. Gilles Boutaut (1626)—Charles II. François d'Anglure (1650)—Bernard VI. de Sariac (1657).
BAYONNE. François Fouquet (1637)—Jean VII., Dolce (1643).
BAZAS. Henri Listolfi Maroni (1633)—Samuel Martineau (1646).
COUSERANS—Bruno Ruade (1623)—Pierre V. de Marca (1643)—Bernard III. de Marmiesse (1653).
DAX. Jacques Desclaux (1639)—Guillaume V., Le Roux (1648)—Pierre Louis Caset de Vautorte (1655).
LECTOURE. Jean III., d'Estresse (1635)—Louis II. de la Rochefoucauld (1646).
LESCAR. Jean VIII. Hauti de Salette (1632)—Jean IX. du Hauti de Salette (1658).
OLÉRON. Arnaud VII. de Maytie (1620)—Louis de Baossom-pierre (1646)—Pierre IV. de Gassion (1647)—Jean III. de Miossens (1653)—Arnaud VIII., François de Maytie (1659).
SAINT BERTRAND (*Comminges*)—Hugues II. de Labatur (1637)—Gibert du Plessis-Praslin de Choiseul (1644).
TARBES. Claude Mallier (1648).
5. *Archbishopric of*—
AVIGNON. Bernard Pinelli (1644)—César Argelli (1647)—Dominique Marini (1648).
*Suffragan Bishops*—
VAISON. Joseph Marie Suarez (1633).
VALENCE. Daniel de Cosnac (1655).
VIVIERS. Louis François de la Baume de Suze (1621).

Nîmes. Antoine Denis Cohon (1632)—Hector Douvrier (1644) – Cohon *returns to the See* (1655).
Montpellier. Renaud, Cardinal d'Este (1653)—François Bosquet (1655).
6. *Archbishopric of*—
Besançon. Claude IV. d'Achey (1637)—Charles Emmanuel de Gorrevod (1654)—Jean François Fauche (1659).
*Suffragan Bishops*—
Bâle. (*Switzerland.*)
Belley. Jean V. de Passelaigne (1629).
Lausanne. (*Switzerland.*)
7. *Archbishopric of*—
Bordeaux. Henri II. d'Escoubleau de Sourdis (1629)—Henri III. de Béthune (1646).
*Suffragan Bishops*—
Agen. Barthélemy d'Elbène (1635).
Angoulême. Jacques II. du Perron (1637)—François de Péricard (1646).
Condom. Antoine II. de Cous (1616)—Jean V. d'Estrades (1647)—Charles Louis de Lorraine (1660).
Luçon. Pierre III., Nivelle (1637).
Perigueux. François II. de la Béraudière (1614)—Jean VII. d'Estrades (1646)—Philibert de Brandon (1646)—Cyr de Villers la Faye (1654).
Poitiers. Henri Louis Châteignier de la Roche-Pozay (1611)—Antoine, Cardinal Barberini (1652)—Gilbert III. de Clérembault de Palluau (1657).
Maillezais, afterwards La Rochelle. Henri III. de Béthune (1630)—Jacques II., Raoul (1646).
Saintes. Jacques Raoul (1631)—Louis II. de Bassompierre (1648).
Sarlat. Jean V. de Lingendes (1639)—Nicholas II., Sevin (1653)—François III. de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon (1659).
8. *Archbishopric of*—
Bourges. Pierre VIII. de Hardivilliers (1631)—Anne de Lévis de Ventadour (1649).
*Suffragan Bishops*—
Clermont. Joachim d'Estaing (1614)—Louis d'Estaing (1651).
Le Puy. Henri Cauchon de Maupas du Tour (1641).
Limoges. François I. de la Fayette (1628).
Saint Flour. Claude II., Auvry (1646)—Jacques II. de Montrouge (1647).

TULLE. Jean V., Ricard de Genouillac de Vaillac (1599) —Louis III. de Rechignevoisin de Guron (1653).

9. *Archbishopric of*—

CAMBRAI. François II., Vanderburch (1615)—Joseph de Bergaigne (1645)—Gaspard Dubois (1649).

*Suffragan Bishops*—

ARRAS. Nicolas II., Dufiff (1635)—Jean Pierre le Camus (1651)—Etienne II., Moreau (1656).

NAMUR (*Netherlands*).

SAINT OMER. Christophe II. de France (1634)—Ladislas *or* Lancelot Jonnart (1656).

TOURNAI (*Netherlands*).

10. *Archbishopric of*—

EMBRUN. Guillaume IX. d'Hugues (1612)—Georges d'Aubusson de la Feuillade (1649).

*Suffragan Bishops*—

DIGNE. Raphael de Boulogne (1628)—Toussaint de Forbin-Janson (1656).

GLANDÈVE. René le Clerc (1627)—François I., Faure (1651)—Jean Dominique Ithier (1654).

GRASSE. Antoine II., Godeau (1636)—Antoine III. de Bernage (1654).

NICE (*Italy*). Jacques Marengi (1635)—Didier de Paltis (1644)—*Now suffragan of the Archbishopric of Aix.*

SENEZ. Louis Duchaîne (1623).

VENCE. Antoine II., Godeau (1638).

11. *Archbishopric of*—

LYON. Alphonse-Louis du Plessis, Cardinal de Richelieu (1628)—Camille de Neufville de Villeroi (1653).

*Suffragan Bishops*—

AUTUN. Claude de la Magdelaine (1621)—Louis II., Doni d'Attichy (1653).

CHÂLON. Jacques II. de Neuchèze (1624)—Jean XIII. de Maupeou (1658).

DIJON *was created in* 1731.

LANGRES. Sébastien Zamet (1615)—Louis III. Barbier de la Rivière (1655).

MÂCON. Louis II., Dinet (1621)—Jean VII. de Lingendes (1650).

SAINTE-CLAUDE *was created in* 1742.

12. *Archbishopric of*—

NARBONNE. Claude de Rebé (1628)—François VI., Fouquet (1659).

*Suffragan Bishops—*

AGDE. Fulcran de Barrez (1630)—Jean IV., Dolce (1643) —François Fouquet (1643)—Louis II., Fouquet (1658).

ALAIS *was created in* 1694.

BEZIERS. Clément de Bonzi (1628)—Pierre V., Cardinal de Bonzi (1660).

CARCASSONNE. Vital de l'Estang (1621)—François II., Servien (1653)—Louis I. de Nogaret de la Valette d'Épernon (1655).

LODÈVE. Jean VI. de Plantavit de la Pause (1625)—François II., Bosquet (1648)—Roger de Harlay de Césy (1658).

PERPIGNAN (*formerly* ELNE). François VIII., Perez de Roig (1638)—Vincent de Margarit (1669).

UZÈS. Nicolas II., Grillet (1633)—Jacques II., Adhémar de Monteil de Grignan (1660).

13. *Archbishopric of—*

PARIS. Jean François de Gondi (*last bishop*, 1622; archbishop in 1623).

*Suffragan Bishops—*

BLOIS *was created in* 1697.

CHARTRES. Jacques Lescot (1641)—Ferdinand de Neufville de Villeroi (1657).

MEAUX. Dominique I., Séguier (1637)—Dominique II. de Ligni (1659).

ORLÉANS. Nicolas de Netz (1631)—Alphonse d'Elbène (1647).

14. *Archbishopric of—*

REIMS. Henri III. de Lorraine-Guise (1629)—Léonor d'Etampes de Valençay (1643)—Henri IV. de Savoie-Nemours (1651)—Antonio, Cardinal Barberini (1657).

*Suffragan Bishops—*

AMIENS. François IV., Lefèvre de Caumartin (1618)—François V., Faure (1654).

BEAUVAIS. Auguste-Potier de Blancménil (1616)—Nicolas Choart de Buzenval (1651).

BOULOGNE. Jean Dolce (1633)—François Purochel (1643).

CHÂLONS-SUR-MARNE. Félix III., Vialar de Hesse (1640).

LAON. Philibert de Brichanteau (1620)—César, Cardinal d'Estrées (1655).

NOYON. Henri de Baradat (1626).

SENLIS. Nicolas Sanguin (1623)—Denis II. Sanguin (1652)

SOISSONS. Simon II., Le Gras (1624)—Charles III., Bourlon (1656).

15. *Archbishopric of*—
ROUEN. François II. de Harlay (1615)—François III. de Harlay (1651).
*Suffragan Bishops*—
AVRANCHES. Charles Vialart de Saint-Paul (1640)—Roger d'Aumont (1645)—Gabriel Boislève (1652).
BAYEUX. Jacques d'Angennes (1606)—Edouard Molé (1649)—François I., Servien (1655).
COUTANCES. Léonor I., Goyon de Matignon (1625)—Claude Auvry (1646) — Eustache II., Leclerc de Lesseville (1658).
ÉVREUX. François I. de Péricard (1613)—Jacques II. de Noël du Perron (1646)—Gilles II., Boutaut (1649).
LISIEUX. Philippe Cospéan (1636)—Léonor I., Goyon de Matignon (1646).
SÉEZ. Jacques III., Camus (1614)—François Rouxel de Médavy (1652).
16. *Archbishopric of*—
SENS. Octave de Bellegarde (1623)—Louis Henri de Gondrin (1646).
*Suffragan Bishops*—
AUXERRE. Pierre IX. de Broc (1640).
CLAMECI (*Bishop of* BETHLEÉM, *in partibus*). André de Sauzai (1624)—Jean François de Bontemps (1644)—Christophe II. d'Authier de Sisgau (1651).
NEVERS. Eustache du Lys (1606)—Eustache II. de Chéry (1643).
TROYES. François du Houssay (1641).
17. *Archbishopric of*—
TOULOUSE. Charles de Monchal (1627)—Pierre VI. de Marca (1652).
*Suffragan Bishops*—
LAVAUR. Charles François d'Abra de Raconis (1639)—Jean Vincent de Tulle (1646).
LOMBEZ. Jean V., Daffis (1628).
MIREPOIX. Louis de Nogaret d'Épernon (1630)—Louis-Hercule de Lévis de Ventadour (1655).
MONTAUBAN. Anne de Murviel (1601)—Pierre III. de Berthier (1652).
PAMIERS. Jean V. de Sponde (1642)—François Étienne de Caulet (1644).
RIEUX. Jean Louis de Berthier (1620).
SAINT PAPOUL. Bernard V., Desprentz (1636)—Jean VI. de Montpezat de Carbon (1657).

18. *Archbishopric of*—
TOURS. Victor le Bouthillier (1641).
*Suffragan Bishops*—
ALETH (*afterwards* SAINT MALO). Nicolas II., Pavillon (1637).
ANGERS. Claude de Rueil (1628)—Henri Arnauld (1649).
DOL. Hector Douvrier (1630)—Antoine Denis Cohon (1644)—Robert Cupif (1653)—Matthieu Thoreau (1660).
LE MANS. Emmeric Marc de la Ferté (1637)—Philibert Emmanuel de Beaumanoir de Lavardin (1648).
NANTES. Gabriel de Beauvau de Rivarennes (1636)—Gilles I. de la Baume-le-Blanc (1668).
QUIMPER. René du Louet (1642)—François II. de Coëtlogon (1668).
RENNES—Henri de la Mothe-Houdancourt (1641).
SAINT-BRIEUC. Denis de la Barde (1641).
SAINT-POL DE LÉON. Robert Cupif (1637)—René de Rieux *returns to the See* (1648)—Henri Marie de Laval Boisdauphin (1651).
TREGUIER. Noël des Landes (1636)—Balthazar Grangier de Liverdis (1646).
VANNES. Sébastien II. de Rosmadec (1622)—Charles II. de Rosmadec (1648).
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VIVIERS. *Became suffragan of Avignon.*
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TRÈVES (*Germany*).
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TOUL. Charles Chrétien de Gournay (1636)—Paul de Fiesque (1645)—Jacques Lebret (1645)—André du Saussay (1649)—*This bishopric was suppressed in* 1790.
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